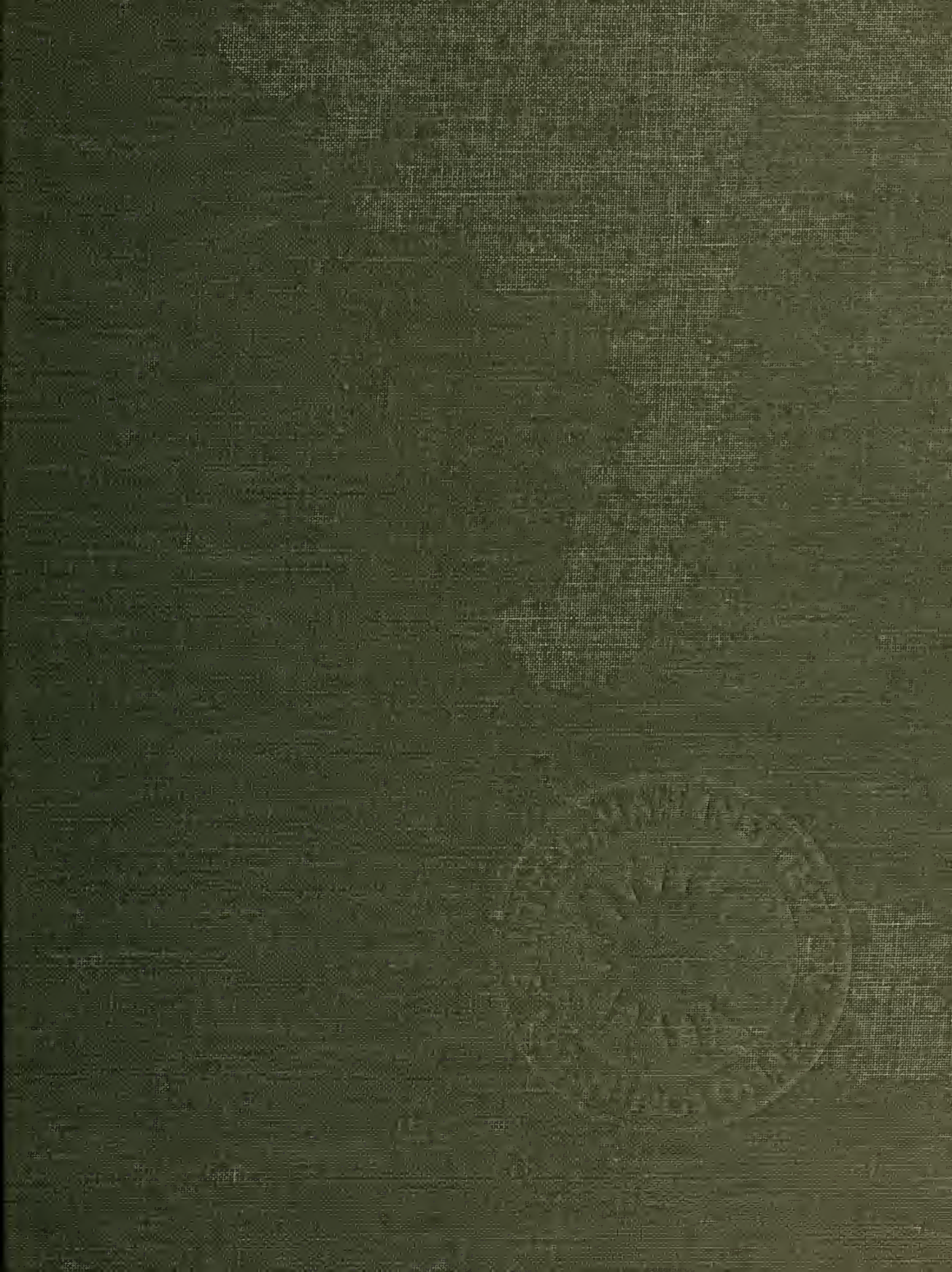

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

BULLETIN 241

THE SMITHSONIAN PRESS

MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

Papers 45–51
On History

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION • WASHINGTON, D.C. 1966

Publications of the United States National Museum

The scholarly and scientific publications of the United States National Museum include two series, *Proceedings of the United States National Museum* and *United States National Museum Bulletin.*

In these series, the Museum publishes original articles and monographs dealing with the collections and work of its constituent museums—The Museum of Natural History and the Museum of History and Technology—setting forth newly acquired facts in the fields of anthropology, biology, history, geology, and technology. Copies of each publication are distributed to libraries, to cultural and scientific organizations, and to specialists and others interested in the different subjects.

The *Proceedings,* begun in 1878, are intended for the publication, in separate form, of shorter papers from the Museum of Natural History. These are gathered in volumes, octavo in size, with the publication date of each paper recorded in the table of contents of the volume.

In the *Bulletin* series, the first of which was issued in 1875, appear longer, separate publications consisting of monographs (occasionally in several parts) and volumes in which are collected works on related subjects. *Bulletins* are either octavo or quarto in size, depending on the needs of the presentation. Since 1902 papers relating to the botanical collections of the Museum of Natural History have been published in the *Bulletin* series under the heading *Contributions from the United States National Herbarium,* and since 1959, in *Bulletins* titled "Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology," have been gathered shorter papers relating to the collections and research of that Museum.

The present collection of Contributions, Papers 45–51, comprises *Bulletin* 241. Each of these papers has been previously published in separate form. The year of publication is shown on the last page of each paper.

Frank A. Taylor
Director, United States National Museum

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The Museum of History and Technology

Paper 45

Political Campaign Torches

Herbert R. Collins

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"As phase of campaign enthusiam," a cartoon from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 13, 1880.
(*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

Herbert R. Collins

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TORCHES

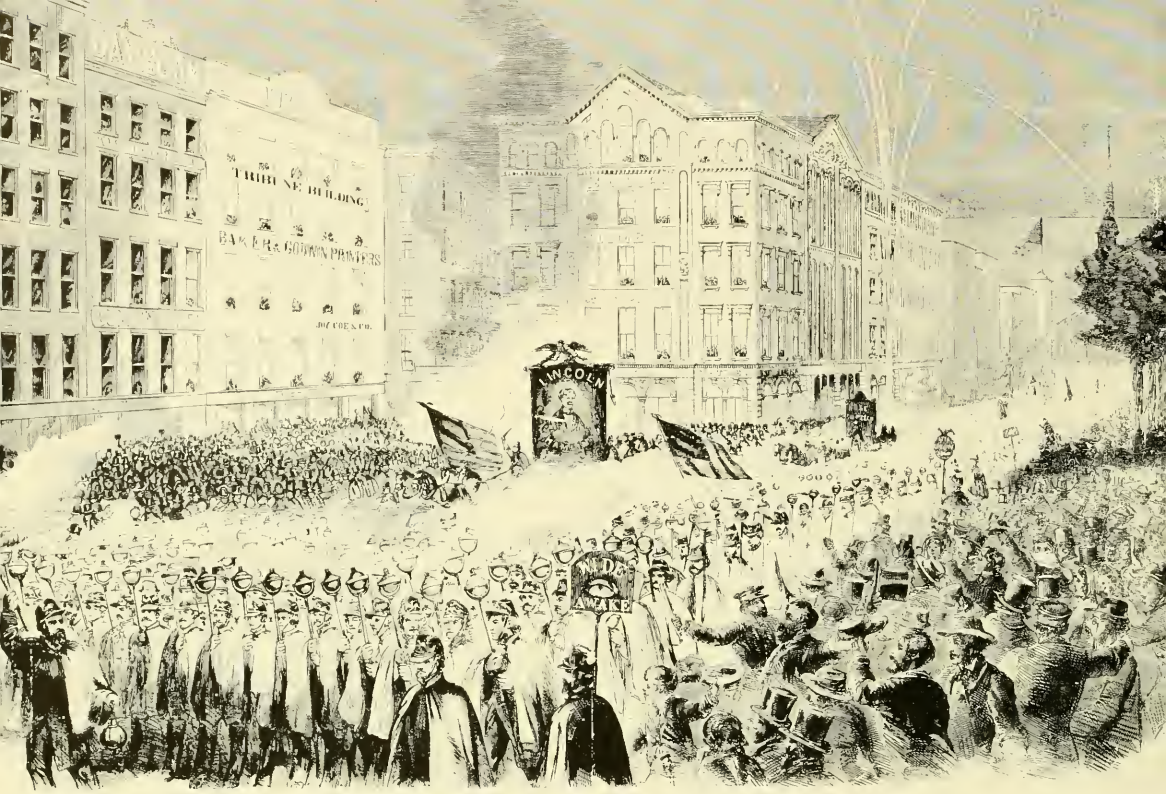
The political custom of the torchlight parade so characteristic of mid-19th-century campaigning reached its peak in 1876 and continued until the end of the century, when campaign techniques changed. From the collections of the Smithsonian Institution, the Patent Office, and elsewhere, have been gathered pictures of these torches and information about them. Although most political campaign torches are not marked with any type of identification, many have been identified by means of the patent drawings submitted by the patentees. The torches illustrated in this study are listed by date from 1837 to 1900.

THE AUTHOR: *Herbert R. Collins is assistant curator of political history in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.*

Introduction

THIS CATALOG is a descriptive and interpretive listing of political campaign torches and related lighting devices used in street parades and rallies. Although political campaign torches were patented as early as 1837, it was not until 1860, with the organization of the "Wide-Awakes" and other marching clubs, that torchlight parades achieved prominence in political campaigning. The author will not attempt to analyze what prompted the beginning or ending of torchlight parades. The fact that the parades served as entertainment in the communities, when other types of diversion were unknown, was probably an important factor. It is a recognized fact that these celebrations did much to advertise the candidates, in addition to entertaining the spectators. The parades were given wide coverage throughout this country and even abroad. As early as 1864, *The Illustrated London News* printed exciting stories about the American celebrations.

The marching habit, developed by the "Wide-Awakes" organized for Lincoln in 1860 and continued by veterans' groups after the Civil War, also served to maintain the tradition of marching groups in political parades in the late 19th century. The groups which participated in the torchlight parades were sometimes highly trained paraders who executed a manual of arms similar to that used by the military marching groups. Many were hired marchers who



"Grand procession of wide-awakes at New York on the evening of October 3, 1860," from *Harper's Weekly*, October 13, 1860.

THE WIDE-AWAKE PARADE

[Excerpt from *Harper's Weekly*, New York City, October 13, 1860, p. 650.]

Thousands of torches flashing in high, narrow streets, crowded with eager people, and upon house-fronts in which every window swarms with human faces; with the mingling music of scores of military bands, and the rippling, running, sweeping, and surging sound of huzzas from tens of thousands, but generally a silence like the quiet flow of a vast river; with the waving of banners and moving transparencies of endless device; and through all, out of all, and over all, the splendor of exploding fire-works, of every color—these combined, at night, are an imposing spectacle; and these everyone in the city saw at the Wide-Awake festival on Wednesday night.

It was certainly the nearest approach to a purely poetic popular demonstration that we have had. Torches have no dangerous antecedants. Fireworks are of no party. Splendor and beauty are not yet prescribed. Every man who has at heart the municipal honor or New York (municipal honor?) must have been glad and gratified on Wednesday evening. There was never, perhaps, so immense a political fête which passed off more peacefully. Even the bitterest political opponents of the party to which the organization belongs could not but confess how beautiful the scene was.

Standing at midnight in Broadway, near the corner of Tenth Street, and looking up toward Union Place, you saw the entire street sheeted with flickering light, and Union Place bright with showers of fireworks; while down town, as far as the New York Hotel, and beyond, there was the same blazing torrent of life and enthusiasm, from which, in profuse and incessant explosion, burst the Roman candles of every celestial hue.

* * *

were paid up to $2.00 per person for the job and were not loyal to any one party, but were merely doing an assignment. A large number of these so-called "hired marchers" were actually very young boys who were below the voting age. Fire companies were another group who usually participated in the parades. Already trained in parade tactics and usually possessing uniforms, the firemen could be readily used. Rain or shine, these paraders performed their duty and, in many instances, moved from city to city as the candidate traveled. Business men participating in the parades were sometimes reported to have worn the distinctive apparel of their occupations, but generally the marchers had special uniforms of patriotic colors. Some of these uniforms are in the collections of the division of political history, Museum of History and Technology.

The parades often lasted two to three hours. Banners, torches, flags, and transparencies were carried and, quite often, objects were conveyed through the streets as floats are today. The participants sang campaign songs and shouted slogans. Streamers were strung across the streets and the houses along the parade routes were gayly decorated. The torches were at first rather clumsy, and the paraders wore colorful oilcloth capes to protect their clothing from the kerosene drippings. This led to the development of marching uniforms which enterprising manufacturers later sold complete with a torch for each participant.

Many torches were patented during the last half of the 19th century, but it is doubtful whether all of them were ever actually manufactured. Most of the patents dealt with improvements in the supporting device of the torch, although some involved changes in the design of the torch bowl itself, and a few related to improvements in the wick or burning mechanism. A few homemade torches which were never patented are also known to exist. In 1876, when torchlight parades were nearing their peak, at least five improved or different torches were patented. Techniques in campaigning changed at the turn of the century, however, and torchlight parades declined in frequency and importance.

This study is based on objects in the Museum of History and Technology acquired from Ralph E. Becker, George H. Watson, Carl Haverlin, Mrs. R. A. Hubbard, the estate of Dora R. and Stuart P. Heitmuller, Sam A. Cousley, and The Unexcelled Fireworks Company, all of which are in the collections of the division of political history; on the Anton Heitmuller Collection and the collection of U.S. patent models in the division of cultural history; on the Jewett Tin Collection in the department of arts and manufacturers; and on the private collections of J. Doyle DeWitt, Hartford, Connecticut, and Mrs. Grace D. Williams, Akron, Ohio. Illustrations have also been used from the prints and photographs division and the serials division, Library of Congress; and Patent Office records.

Two of the best sources of documentation for torches have been the United States patent applications in the U.S. Patent Office and the company trade catalogs found in the collections of the Library of Congress and in the Smithsonian Institution. The United States patent records, interferences, and correspondence in the National Archives have also provided useful information. Most of the scenes of the torchlight parades were engravings rather than photographs and, as such, do not lend themselves to correct identification of the torches used.

The following newspapers in the collections of the Library of Congress and the Ralph E. Becker Collection in the Museum of History and Technology, were used: *Harper's Weekly*, *The World*, *New York Daily Tribune*, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, *The Daily Times and Dispatch*, *The Presidency*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and *The Illustrated London News*. Also used were items from the Becker Collection: an 1880 circular of E. G. Rideout & Co.; an advertising card of the National Campaign Equipment Company; an illustrated listing of objects sold by Robert Sneider; a scrapbook of Rhode Island newspaper clippings kept by Rt. Rev. W. H. Chandler; and other manuscript material.

Most political campaign torches are not marked with any type of identification. Only in very rare instances does one find the patent date on a torch. However, many can be identified with the patent drawings submitted by the patentee. In some instances, the patent models themselves have been located and these have been included in this study. Considering the number of torches manufactured and sold during the last half of the 19th century, it is amazing how few have survived.

While the real purpose of this study has been to trace the development of political campaign torches made of tin, other lighting devices of a related nature have also been briefly treated, in part because of the difficulty of separating the two types and in part to give the reader a general idea of all lighting devices used in parades.

"Presidential electioneering in New York—torchlight procession of the M'Clellan party," from *The Illustrated London News*, October 15, 1864.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONEERING IN NEW YORK

[Excerpt from *The Illustrated London News*, London, England, October 15, 1864.]

We have engraved two sketches by Mr. C. D. Shanly, of New York, who explains their subjects in the following passage from his letter, dated the 18th ult.:—

"On the night before last there was another tremendous demonstration here in favour of M'Clellan and Pendleton for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, respectively. The railings which surround the Park of Union-square (the park is a circle within the square) were hung everywhere with coloured lanterns, and the ten stands erected for the speakers of the night were similarly illuminated. The cannon seemed to be louder, and the fireworks more brilliant and complicated, than I remember to have heard and seen at any similar celebration here. There was an endless torchlight procession of the M'Clellanites belonging to the several wards of the city; and the torches, every now and then, discharged globes of fire and showers of sparks into the air. All was a blaze of many-coloured light, contrasting finely with the cold splendour of the moon, which rose up very bright and clear while the scene was at its height. Conspicuous in the procession were a number of large waggons, draped with the national flag and hung

"Presidential electioneering in New York—a street scene,"
from *The Illustrated London News*, October 15, 1864.

around with Chinese lanterns and other luminous objects. So crowded were these vehicles that they resembled moving pyramids of acrobats. They all displayed an immense variety of transparencies, stranger in their suggestions than Longfellow's 'banner with a strange device'; and I noticed one of them with a large stuffed eagle mounted over it upon rods, in a position intended to represent the sweeping soar of that noble bird. The jokes of Mr. Lincoln were a favorite subject for the legends upon the transparencies—the rather grim one of 'Coal, 14 dols. per ton' being greeted by the populace with groans as it swayed past. One of the waggons bore the ship 'Constitution' — a good-sized vessel, barque rigged, and manned with a crew of young fellows in red shirts. Passing through a dark by-street, a man on horseback galloped past me, pulling up his horse with a jerk every few yards, and discharging a shower of fireworks from some contrivance carried in his hand. As he disappeared into the dark, through which he loomed up here and there in a glory of his wildfire, he suggested the idea of a mounted *ignis fatuus*, come up from his native swamps to contribute to the harmony of the occasion. The sentiment throughout this demonstration was one of disgust with the war; the feeling, that with the election of M'Clellan peace will be restored—somehow."

* * *

GRAND PROCESSION of the "Boys in Blue" at Philadelphia, October 2, 1868. Sketched by Theodore R. Davis. From *Harper's Weekly*, October 17, 1868.

"Procession of the Boys in Blue—The Republican Barbecue in Brooklyn." From *Harper's Weekly*, November 11, 1876.

THE REPUBLICAN BARBECUE

[Excerpt from *Harper's Weekly*, New York City, November 11, 1876, page 915.]

Barbecues are a novelty in this section of the country, although in the West and South they are not uncommon. The Republican barbecue lately given in Myrtle Avenue Park, Brooklyn, of which we give illustrations on page 916, attracted a vast throng of interested spectators—not less than 50,000, it was estimated. The speeches made were listened to with attention and enthusiasm; but curiosity turned to the novel operation of roasting two huge oxen, one weighing 983 and the other 1,000 pounds. This culinary process was performed within an inclosure made of pine logs, gayly festooned with bunting and Chinese lanterns; and about noon sandwiches were made and rapidly distributed to the crowd. The torchlight procession of the "Boys in Blue" in the evening was a striking feature of the festival and a great success.

* * *

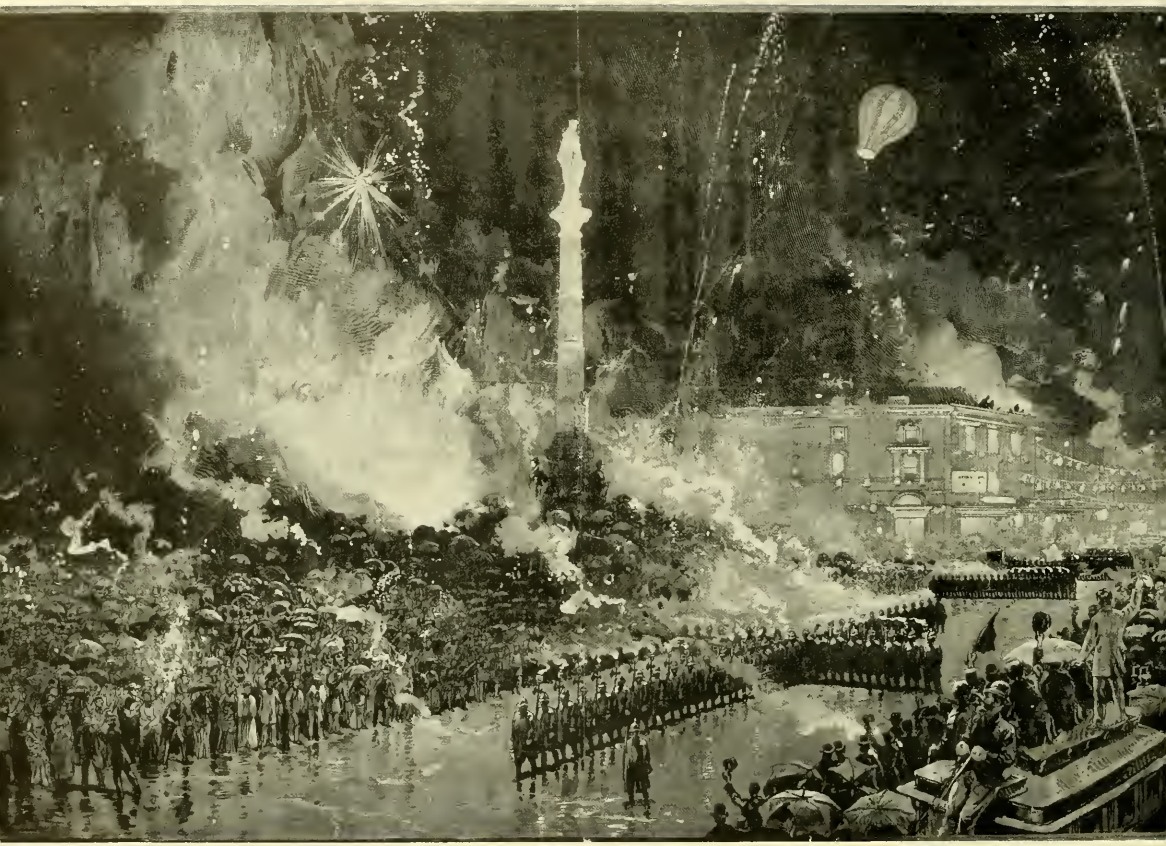
THE TOUR OF A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

[Excerpt from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York City, October 4, 1884, p. 163.]

Mr. Blaine's campaign tour was marked last week by remarkable displays of popular enthusiasm in some of the principal Cities of New Jersey and New York, and also in Philadelphia. On Monday, the 22d ultimo, leaving New York in a special train, he proceeded to Newark, where he was welcomed by an ovation altogether unprecedented in the history of the city, over 60,000 people uniting in the demonstration, not including 9,300 torchbearers, members of uniformed clubs, who paraded in his honor. At Elizabeth, Rahway, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, the distinguished candidate was greeted by fresh exhibitions of enthusiasm—vast multitudes assembling to welcome him. At Philadelphia, on the 23d ultimo, he was formerly received by the Union League, and there was a parade of 30,000 men, whose route was a blaze of light and lined by cheering multitudes. Returning to New York, Mr. Blaine, after a night's rest, started in a special train, accompanied by a few friends, on a tour through New York and Ohio. The train was composed of two parlor cars, the Mohawk and Richfield, and one combination parlor and baggage-car. The rear of the Mohawk was handsomely decorated with the National colors. Some thirty persons in all were in the party. At all the towns along the route crowds of people were assembled, and in all cases, Mr. Blaine was welcomed with great enthusiasm. This was notably the fact at Yonkers, Peekskill, Poughkeepsie, Albany, Utica and Syracuse. At the latter place, where Mr. Blaine remained for the night, the whole population seemed to go wild with excitement. The streets were blocked, the houses were illuminated, and all traffic was stopped. For nearly two hours Republican clubs, with torches and fireworks, bands of music, gaudy uniforms and banners, from all the country round marched through the streets. The crowd only dispersed when Mr. Blaine, after reviewing the procession, made a brief address and gracefully said goodnight.

On the following day Mr. Blaine continued his journey to Buffalo, stopping *en route* at the Oswego County Fair. At Auburn 10,000 persons, nearly all voters, welcomed him. Seneca Falls, Waterloo, Geneva and Canandaigua turned out their thousands, and Rochester greeted him by an immense outpouring of people. Batavia and other small towns brought other thousands to greet the candidate; while the day was closed by a monster demonstration in Buffalo. From Buffalo Mr. Blaine proceeded to Cleveland, where he remained over Sunday.

* * *



"The grand popular reception of Governor Cleveland in Buffalo—the procession passing through Main Street." A torchlight procession welcoming the governor. From *Harper's Weekly*, October 11, 1884.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND IN BUFFALO

[Excerpt from *Harper's Weekly*, New York City, October 11, 1884, p. 669.]

In spite of the pouring rain which deluged the streets of Buffalo from morning till late at night, the reception of Governor CLEVELAND in that city of the 2d inst. was a grand popular success. No demonstration of equal magnitude and enthusiasm was ever before witnessed in Buffalo. From the moment of alighting from the train until he bade the cheering throng good-night at his hotel, he was greeted with constant tributes of popular esteem and honor. The city blazed with illuminations and fire-works, and the crowded streets presented an aspect of general festivity and rejoicing.

The Governor and his party left Albany about half past one in the afternoon in a special train for Buffalo, and all along the route was greeted by enthusiastic crowds wherever the train stopped. He reached Buffalo a few minutes after eight o'clock; and as soon as the party had entered the carriages at the station, the procession, which was waiting on the streets nearby, formed in line. The rain now came down harder than at any previous hour through the day, and hundreds of men who had intended to march in the line withdrew, declaring that they could not stand the deluge. The procession was thus much reduced, but the greater number, moved by an earnest determination to show their devotion to Governor CLEVELAND, pluckily took their places. "We ought not to shrink," said Chairman SCHEU, of the County Committee. "Four years ago, at our biggest demonstration, Governor CLEVELAND marched over the whole line carrying a torch, and it rained as hard as it does to-night."

All the principal streets of the city were decorated with flags, transparencies, and pictures of the Governor. Chinese lanterns were burning all over the front of many buildings and upon ropes stretched from one building to another across the streets. Colored fire burned on the tops of many business blocks. The Governor's carriage was drawn by eight white horses. When it appeared on Main Street, that thoroughfare seemed to be ablaze with fire-works. Cheer after cheer went up as he passed along through the thronging multitude. The scene was such as had never been witnessed before in Buffalo. As the procession marched up the street, its magnificent proportions became apparent. Well to the front came the Buffalo Legion, the finest body of men formed into a political club in that city in years. Following them came various political organizations of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Batavia, Jamestown, and almost every other city and town in Western New York. Many of them carried torches, and nearly every club carried a transparency. The mottoes were various, but the majority referred in some way to the admitted honesty of Governor CLEVELAND and the bad reputation of Mr. BLAINE. The route chosen for the procession was about four miles long, going up Main Street, around several blocks, and back to the Genesee House. When Governor CLEVELAND had been over the route the procession had little more than half passed. The procession was fully two hours passing a given point, and must have included at least 18,000 men.

When the Governor's carriage was driven up to his hotel, he was again greeted with loud and prolonged cheering, and his appearance on the balcony, when the procession had fully passed, was again the signal for a tremendous burst of applause. Mr. HENRY MARTIN, President of the Manufacturers' and Traders' Bank, delivered an appropriate and telling address of welcome, to which Governor CLEVELAND made a brief felicitous response, thanking the people of Buffalo for their demonstration of esteem and confidence. In conclusion he said:

> "Because I love my State and her people I can not refrain from reminding you that she should be in the van of every movement which promises a safer and better administration of the general government, so closely related to her prosperity and greatness. And let me leave you with the thought that your safety lies in impressing upon the endeavor of those intrusted with the guardianship of your rights and interests a pure, patriotic, and exacting popular sentiment. The character of the government can hardly rise higher than the source from which it springs, and the integrity and faithfulness of public servants are not apt to be greater than the public demand."

The counter-march of the procession began at midnight, and for two hours the Governor remained on the balcony watching the parade. Thus ended the largest and most significant political demonstration ever witnessed in Buffalo.

* * *

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S RECEPTION IN BROOKLYN

[Excerpt from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York City, October 25, 1884, p. 151.]

A great Democratic demonstration took place in the City of Brooklyn on the 16th instant. Two of the principal features were a barbecue at Ridgewood Park and a parade in honor of Governor Cleveland, who was the guest of the Democracy of the city. In the forenoon, the Governor was given receptions in the Academy of Music and the Pierrepont House, where he was waited upon by a large number of prominent citizens. The procession was some three miles in length and was one of the most notable which has been seen in Brooklyn. The Governor rode in an open carriage drawn by four horses, and was everywhere received with great enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with people, and the houses in many places gayly festooned. When passing No. 90 Lafayette Avenue, some fifty children dressed in white appeared with hands full of flowers which they threw into the Governor's carriage . . . .

The procession reached the park shortly after two o'clock, amid the booming of cannon and the cheers of the crowd already on the ground. In the large dining-room of the hotel was spread a table for 250 guests. Three oxen had been roasted, and were ready for carving at twelve o'clock. They were Kentucky steers, and weighed in the aggregate of 5,500 pounds. The beef was cut in juicy slices, while a corps of forty men made them up into delicious sandwiches. It is estimated that the multitude consumed 60,000 sandwiches, washed down with 5,000 kegs of beer. Later in the day, Governor Cleveland made a brief address to the multitude, and in the evening reviewed a torchlight parade.

THE TORCH-LIGHT PARADER

[Excerpt from *Harper's Weekly*, New York City, October 8, 1892, p. 971.]

"Campaign equipments," as lavishly advertised and sold for a month past, do not mean tabulated statements of the workings of the McKinley bill, or party platforms, or any other kind of furnishing for the intellectual apparatus. They are tin helmets and breastplates, wooden spears and battle axes with kerosene torches at their tops, and leggings, capes, and tunics in limitless variety of shape, material, and color. The American voter is not without the sense of humor, and will probably take it in good part if, when he has rigged himself out in all this fantastic toggery, he is compared to that gorgeous squad that formed the military escort of Dromedary Dodd's Hebdomadal Picnics in Mr. Stevenson's story of "The Wreckers." Describing the punctual picnic band, "booming down street with . . . . some score of gratuitous asses prancing at the head in bearskin hats and buckskin aprons, and conspicuous with resplendent axes," Mr. Dodd adds that the band was paid, but that, thanks to a passion for public masquerade, the asses pranced for the love of it, and cost nothing but their luncheon.

Our torch-light campaigners resemble Mr. Dodd's assistants in being gratuitous, but whether they are equally entitled to rank as asses depends partly on the state of the spectator's liver, and partly on whether they are justified in the impression that torch-light parades stir up political enthusiasm, influence the doubtful voters, and help to keep wavering allies in the field.

Men banded together are much more subject to a common impulse than individuals taken separately, and there is some practical political sense in getting the party-men together, and rubbing them up against one another in the promotion of a common end. The contagion of endeavor reaches the listless ones, their interest is stirred, and they not only take hold themselves but go out and bring other waverers in. There is no easier way of binding a man to a cause or a party than to get him to do a little work for it. All men cannot be orators, or editors, or ward bosses, or even patient listeners, but any man with arms and legs can carry a kerosene torch around the streets, and come reasonably near keeping step with a band. The theory is that the fidelity of the voter who undertakes such simple political labor is clinched, and that his example has an effect besides on the unorganized multitude. Of course the shinier his helmet is, and the more elaborate his costume, the farther his example will reach; so that very considerable sums of money are spent every four years in tricking him out and paying the musicians whom he follows. It is an odd use of money, and a curious form of political energy, but the torch-light procession habit seems to be firmly fixed on both parties just now, and they show no signs of shaking it off. Every four years a good many former enthusiasts attain to the conclusion that it is asinine to prance, but their dereliction is more than made up by new voters whose discrimination is less sophisticated, and whose passion for masquerade has not yet been appeased. And so the spectacular end of politics is regularly attended to, and the trade in "equipments" continues brisk.

CAMPAIGN EQUIPMENTS.

N. EAMES & CO.,

46 West Broadway, New York City,

Manufacturers and Dealers in Banners, Caps, Capes, Torches, Shirts, Belts, Campaign Tenor Drums, Transparencies, Flags, Streamers, Bunting, Eames's "Official" Campaign Badge, Portraits of Candidates in six oil colors (two by three feet) for Banners, Club-Rooms, &c., Presidential Grand March Campaign Song-Book, entirely new Campaign Songs, Fireworks, Colored Tableaux, Lights for Meetings at night, embracing more articles than all other dealers combined. Furnish latest patterns and designs at rates 10 to 50 per cent. less than others in the business.

The **Eames "Official" Campaign Badge,** adopted by all the leading Clubs and political organizations in the Union—trade price, $12 per gross, net cash. Samples of each sent, postpaid, on receipt of 25c.

We offer greatly reduced rates on open-work Banners with candidates' Portraits in six oil colors, and have facilities for producing 100 Banners per day, at rates 25 per cent. less than other dealers. Send address on "postal" for mammoth Illustrated Sheet, containing *fac-simile* designs of our campaign goods in great variety, at reduced rates.

Clubs send address on "postal," and receive our Colored Circular. Special inducements offered. Clubs or parties sending address on "postal" will receive our grand Supplement, issued Sept. 1st and Oct. 15th, containing over 100 designs of our goods. Do not delay, but send immediately.

N. EAMES & CO.,
46 West Broadway, New York City.

ADVERTISEMENT OF CAMPAIGN EQUIPMENTS, including torches, in *Harper's Weekly*, September 9, 1876.
(*Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.*)

MANUFACTURERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF POLITICAL TORCHES AS COMPILED FROM NEWSPAPERS AND TRADE CATALOGS

Aikman, S. M. & Co., 261 Pearl Street, New York, N.Y. (1872)

Campaign Manufacturing Co., 10 Barclay St., New York, N.Y. (1884)

Detwiller, Street & Co., Manufacturers, No. 9 Dey St., New York, N.Y. (1876)

The Domestic Mfg. Co., Wallingford, Conn. (1888)

The Eagle Fire Works, East Williamsburg, Long Island, N.Y. (1888). (A company established in Long Island in 1859.)

Eames, N. & Co., 46 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1876)

Hitchcock, B. W., 98 Spring St., New York, N.Y. (1868)

Horsman, E. I., 100 Williams St., New York, N.Y. (1872)

Kelley & Co., 95 John St., New York, N.Y. (1872)

The Masten & Wells Fireworks Manufacturing Company, Boston, Mass. (1896)

McCurdy & Durham, 16 South Fifth St., Reading, Pa. (1884)

National Campaign Equipment Company, 13 East Houston Street, New York, N.Y. (1884)

Naughton, John W., 175 William St., New York, N.Y. (1868)

New England Campaign Uniform Co., 115 & 117 Hanover, Cor. Friend St., Boston, Mass. (1888)

Novelty Manufacturing & Publishing Company, 432 Broome St., New York, N.Y. (1872)

O'Brien, J. T. & Sons, 626 Penn St., Reading, Pa. (1884)

Peck & Snyder, Manufacturers, 124 & 126 Nassau St., New York, N.Y. (1872, 1876, 1880, 1884)

Pitkin & Co., 110 Chambers St., New York, N.Y., and 71 North Second St., Philadelphia, Pa. (1872)

Reed, G. M. & Bros., Manufacturers, 206 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (1868)

Rhode Island Toy and Fireworks Company, 23 Weybosset St., Providence, R.I. (1888)

Richards & Markt, 55 Murray St., New York, N.Y. (1868)

Rideout, E. G. & Co., 10 Barclay St., New York, N.Y. (1880)

Smith, Geo. D., Agent, 886 River St., Troy, N.Y. (1880)

Snyder, Ward B., Manufacturers, 84 Fulton St., New York, N.Y. (1876)

Spalding, A. G. & Bros., Manufacturers, 108 Madison St., Chicago, Ill. (On March 1, 1876, Albert G. Spalding and J. Walter Spalding of Chicago, Ill. founded the firm of A. G. Spalding & Bro., with a capital of $800. Two years later, their brother-in-law, William T. Brown came into the business and the firm was changed to A. G. Spalding & Bros.)

Wilkinson, John & Co., 55 State Street, Chicago, Ill. (1888)

The Unexcelled Fireworks Company, New York, N.Y., and St. Louis, Mo. Incorporated in 1874 with establishments at both New York and St. Louis. (1883, 1888, 1889)

United States Campaign Equipment Manufacturing Company, 667 Broadway (in Grand Central Hotel block), New York, N.Y., Frank J. Atwell, Manager. (1884)

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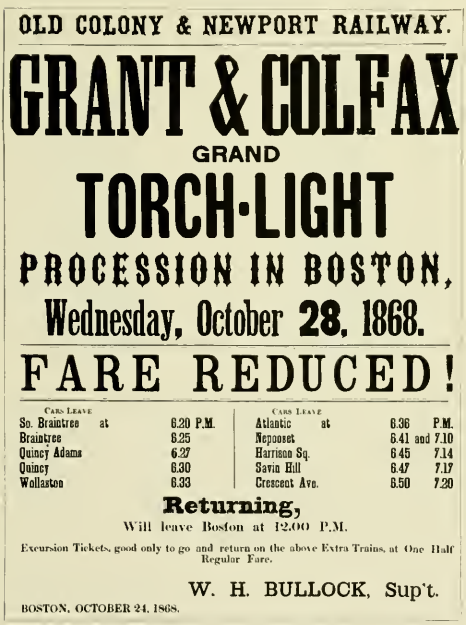
ADVERTISEMENT OF CAMPAIGN GOODS illustrating torches in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 13, 1880. (*Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.*)

Smith's Musket Torch.
Send in your orders, as they are selling rapidly.
Sample Torch sent on receipt of $1 00.
Price $75 00 per hundred.
Terms positively cash; Post-office Order or Draft on New York, or C.O.D.
GEO. D. SMITH, Agent,
886 River Street,
TROY, N. Y.

ADVERTISEMENT of Smith's musket torch in *Harper's Weekly*, September 25, 1880. (*Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.*)

SHALER'S PATENT
PARADE TORCH
For the CAMPAIGN of 1872 is a striking novelty in the torch line. The burning fluid being contained in the packing, prevents all danger of dripping and soiling the clothing, and is perfectly safe in handling. By blowing through a tube in the handle
A COLUMN OF FLAME
is thrown three feet into the air, producing a beautiful and startling effect, and illuminating a wide area. This Torch is cheaper and handier than any other, and costs to burn only two or three cents per night.
Manufactured and sold by
S. M. AIKMAN & CO.,
261 Pearl Street, New York,
Manufacturers of Ship, R. R., and Hand Lanterns.

Advertisement of Shaler's patent parade torch in *Harper's Weekly*, August 31, 1872. (*Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.*)



Broadside announcing a torchlight procession in Boston, 1868. (USNM 227739; Smithsonian photo 52705.)

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MANUAL OF ARMS FOR CAMPAIGN CLUBS

[The following "Manual of Arms" is from the 1888 *Illustrated Campaign Handbook*, The Unexcelled Fireworks Company, pp. 91–95.]

1, *Carry*, 2. Arms.

1. The piece is in the right hand; the barrel nearly vertical, and resting in the hollow of the shoulder, the guard to the front; the arm hanging nearly at its full length, near the body, the thumb and forefinger embracing the guard, the remaining fingers closed together and grasping the stock just under the hammer, which rests on the little finger. This is the position of *carry arms*.

1. *Present*, 2. Arms.

2. Carry the piece with the right hand, in front of the centre of the body, at the same time grasp it with the left hand at the lower band, the forearm horizontal and resting against the body. (Two.) Grasp the small of the stock with the right hand, below and against the guard.

1. *Carry*, 2. Arms. Resume the carry with the right hand. (Two.) Drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Support*, 2. Arms.

3. Carry the piece in front of the centre of the body; grasp it with the left hand at the lower band, and raise this hand to the height of the chin; at the same time grasp the piece with the right hand, four inches below the hammer. (Two.) Carry the piece opposite the left shoulder, barrel to the front; pass the left forearm extended between the right hand and the hammer, support the hammer on the left forearm, the left forearm horizontal, the wrist straight. (Three.) Drop the right hand by the side.

1. *Carry*, 2. Arms. Grasp the piece with the right hand under and against the left forearm; turn the piece with this hand, and carry it in front of the centre of the body; grasp it with the left hand at the lower band, the left forearm horizontal. (Two and Three.) Same as from *present*.

1. *Order*, 2. Arms.

4. Grasp the piece with the left hand, the forearm horizontal, let go with the right hand; lower the piece quickly with the left, regrasping it with the right above the lower band, the little finger in rear of the barrel, the hand near the thigh, the butt about three inches from the ground, the left hand steadying the piece near the right, the fingers extended and joined. (Two.) Lower the piece gently to the ground with the right hand, drop the left hand by the side, and take the position to be described.

Position of Order Arms.

5. The arm hanging naturally, elbow close to the body, the back of the hand to the right, the fingers extended and joined; the barrel between the thumb and forefinger extended along the stock; the toe of the butt against the toe of the right foot, the barrel to the rear and vertical.

To Rest.

6. Being at order arms, the instructor commands: 1. *In place*. 2. Rest.

To resume the attention, the instructor commands: 1. *Squad*, 2. Attention.

Resume the position of *order arms*.

Being at order arms, to give the men rest, imposing both steadiness of position and silence, the instructor commands:

1. *Parade*, 2. Rest.

7. At the command *rest*, carry the muzzle in front of the centre of the body, the barrel to the left; grasp the piece with the left hand just above, and with the right hand at the upper band; carry the right foot three inches straight to the rear, the left knee slightly bent. To resume *order arms*, the instructor commands: 1. *Squad*. 2. Attention.

1. *Carry*, 2. Arms. Raise the piece vertically with the right hand, grasping it at the same time with the left above the right, resume the carry with the right hand. (Two.) Drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Trail*, 2. Arms.

8. Same as the first motion of *order arms*. (Two.) Incline the muzzle slightly to the front, the butt to the rear; drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Carry*, 2. Arms. At the command *carry*, bring the piece to a vertical position with the right hand, the little finger in rear of the barrel; at the command *arms*, execute what has been prescribed for the *carry*, from the position of *order arms*.

Being at a carry, the instructor commands:

1. *Right Shoulder*, 2. Arms.

9. Raise the piece vertically with the right hand; grasp it with the left at the lower band, and raise this hand till it is at the height of the chin; at the same time embrace the butt with the right hand, the toe between the first two fingers, the other fingers under the plate. (Two.) Raise the piece and place it on the right shoulder, the lock-plate up, the muzzle elevated and inclined to the left; so that, viewed from the front, the line of the stock from the toe to the guard, shall appear parallel to the row of buttons; slip the left hand down to the lock-plate. (Three.) Drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Carry*, 2. Arms. Carry the butt slightly to the left, and lower the piece with the right hand; grasp it with the left at the lower band, the hand at the height of the chin, the barrel to the rear, and vertical. (Two.) Resume the carry with the right hand. (Three.) Drop the left hand by the side.

10. Being at a support, to come to a right shoulder, the instructor commands:

1. *Right Shoulder*, 2. Arms.

Grasp the piece with the right hand at the small of the stock, and carry it in front of the centre of body, grasping it with the left hand at the lower band, the hand at the height of the chin. (Two.) Carry and place the piece on the right shoulder, the lock-plate up, the right hand embracing the butt; slip the left hand to the lock-plate. (Three.) Drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Support*, 2. Arms.

11. Carry the butt slightly to the left, and lower the piece with the right hand in front of the centre of the body; grasp it with the left hand at the lower band, the hand at the height of the chin; change the right hand to the small of the stock, four inches below the hammer. (Two.) Carry the piece opposite the left shoulder, barrel to the front, the hammer resting on the left forearm. (Three.) Drop the right hand by the side.

CARRY ARMS

PRESENT ARMS

SUPPORT ARMS

ORDER ARMS

PARADE REST

RIGHT SHOULDER ARMS

ARMS PORT

SALUTE ARMS

Being at a carry, the instructor commands:

1. *Arms*, 2. PORT.

12. Throw the piece diagonally across the body, the lock to the front; grasp it smartly at the same instant, with both hands, the right at the small of the stock, the left at the lower band, the barrel sloping upward and crossing opposite the point of the left shoulder, the butt proportionately lowered. The palm of the right hand is above, and that of the left under the piece, the nails of both hands next the body, to which the elbows are closed.

1. *Carry*, 2. ARMS. Resume the carry with the right hand. (Two.) Drop the left hand by the side.

1. *Sergeants*, 2. SALUTE.

13. Being at a carry, raise the left hand and arm horizontally to the front, palm of the hand down, the fingers extended. (Two.) Bend the left elbow, carrying the hand around till the forefinger strikes the piece in the hollow of the right shoulder, retaining it there till the salute is acknowledged. (Three.) Return to the position of the first motion. (Four.) Drop the left hand by the side.

14. The recruits being at order arms, torches fixed, the instructor commands:

1. *Salute*, ARMS.

Each recruit tosses his piece quickly with the right hand opposite the left eye, catching it with the left hand between the rear-sight and the lower band, the thumb extended along the stock, the barrel to the right, and inclined slighty to the front, the hand at the height of the chin, dropping the right hand by the side.

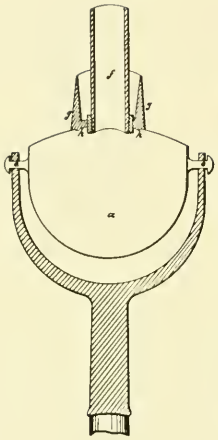


Figure 1.—Campaign torch, 1837, as shown in patent 248, issued June 30, 1837.

Figure 2.—Patent model of 1860 campaign torch. (Smithsonian photo 50555.)

Figure 3.—Double-burner campaign torch, 1860, Jewett Tin Collection. (Smithsonian photo 50550.)

Catalog of Torches

CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1837 *Figure 1*

No example found.

One of the earliest patented torches on record in the U.S. Patent Office, was that patented by Jeremiah Martin of Boston, Massachusetts, in 1837. This particular torch was designed with a receptacle cup to catch any oil which might leak or flow from the bowl, especially if the torch was tilted while carried by hand. The excluded oil would then run back into the reservoir or bowl of the torch. Classified by the patentee as a "campaign torch," it was made to swivel and could be tilted when used in parades.

CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1860 *Figure 2*

USNM 332319, (Patent model)

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

In 1860, an important feature was added to the parade torch. L. T. Pitkin of Hartford, Connecticut, patented a frame which featured a ring to form a revolving and oscillating frame containing the lamp or torch. With the development of this feature, the torch bowl would always remain in an upright position regardless of how it was tilted. This was a great improvement over the old type which required the paraders to wear oilcloth capes in order to prevent

Figure 4.—Campaign torch, circa 1860. (Smithsonian photo 49927–A.)

Figure 5.—Small tin torch, 1860. (Smithsonian photo 49457–B.)

the drippings from falling on their clothing. Another feature of this invention is that when tilted, the joints from which the lamps are hung do not come into direct contact with the flame. The patentee pointed out that earlier models made of soft metal had resulted in melted joints, causing them to unsolder and fall apart. The bowl of this torch measures 5 inches in diameter and is 3½ inches high, while the inner oscillating frame is 6¼ inches in diameter.

DOUBLE-BURNER CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1860 *Figure 3*

USNM 245425 (Jewett Tin Collection)

C. H. Cooper of New York, in 1860, also patented a similar torch to the one illustrated in figure 2, using the same device which L. T. Pitkin had devised, but increasing the lighting effect by adding another wick thus making a double-light torch. The bowl of the torch also was made so that the double burner could be removed and a single one inserted if desired.

CAMPAIGN TORCH, CIRCA 1860 *Figure 4*

USNM 245215.1 (Watson accession)

This funnel-shaped torch follows the same patented idea as that of L. T. Pitkin. The bowl is 5 inches high and the diameter is 4½ inches. The burner is rather crude and contains a cork stopper pushed into a 1-inch-high receptacle soldered to the top of the bowl. An additional patent was not located for this torch, and since the mechanism is so similar to that of Pitkin's, it was probably never issued.

SMALL TIN TORCH, 1860 *Figure 5*

USNM 240719 (Haverlin accession)

This small tin fount torch contains a simple burner and a wick. The legend "Hurrah for Lincoln" appears to be contemporary and suggests that it was used either during the political campaign of 1860, 1864, or both. The torch is inscribed on the bottom as having been used in South Haven, Michigan. It is 5¾ inches high including the wick and has a diameter of 3¼ inches. The supporting device is 11 inches high.

Figure 6.—Rifle torch, 1880.
(Smithsonian photo 46685-A.)

Figure 7.—Platform torch, 1860.
(Smithsonian photo 49457-A.)

RIFLE TORCH, 1860 AND 1880 *Figure 6*

USNM 15386 (Unexcelled Fireworks accession)

This very interesting torch of the 1860 vintage is made as a replica of the Civil War musket and similar to that claimed to have been used by the "Wide Awakes" of 1860.[1] It is composed almost completely of wood with metal fittings. The muskets were very lightweight and if the common swivel-type torch was affixed to the barrel, the torch had a tendency to become top-heavy. Thus, the torch proved clumsy for the manual of arms; also, when tilted at various angles, the reserve burning fluid would spill and the flame would be adversely affected. Many collectors believe the torch illustrated in figure 6 to be of the 1860 period; however, the writer feels that the earlier ones did have the swivel-type torch bowl such as the one found illustrated in the cited reference in footnote 1, rather than the stationary tube type illustrated in figure 6. The end of the barrel of the illustrated torch seems to suggest a later date, for a torch of this type was not actually patented until 1880.[2] Made primarily of wood and metal, this torch is 54 inches long including the wick. The stock, made of wood and forming part of the barrel, measures 40½ inches. The muzzle of the barrel is made of tin. The trigger guard and the imitation percussion lock are both made of metal; the percussion lock was of the type used in military weapons from 1855–1863.

[1] J. Doyle DeWitt, *America Goes to the Polls* (Hartford, Connecticut: The Travelers Insurance Companies. August 1960).

[2] See figure 27 on page 27 of this study for the patent of G. D. Smith on the rifle torch.

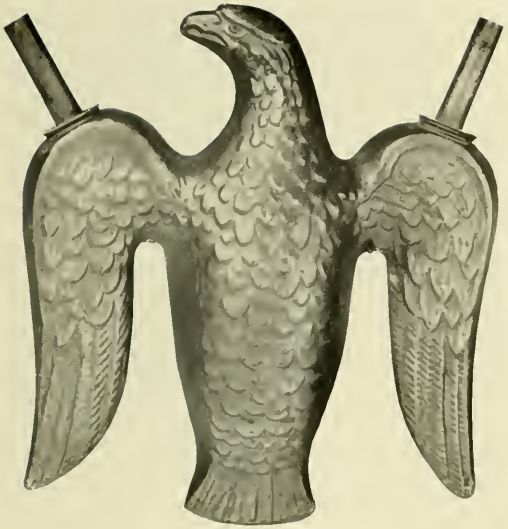


Figure 8.—Eagle torch, 1860.
(Smithsonian photo 50553.)

Figure 9.—Fireman's torch, 1860.
(Smithsonian photo 50548.)

PLATFORM TORCH, 1860 *Figure 7*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Of a more unusual nature is this platform torch made of tin, containing three wicks. This particular torch, with a cylinder 10 inches long and 4½ inches in diameter, has been attributed by some collectors as being from the campaign of 1860. Since no patent or contemporary illustration has been located for this example, the writer has been unable to either prove or disprove this theory. The flames illustrated are artificial for display purposes.

EAGLE TORCH, 1860 *Figure 8*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Unusually refined in design, this eagle torch, painted bronze, is identical to one which is claimed to have been used in the campaign of 1860 and now is in the collection of the Detroit Historical Society. Another is in the J. Doyle DeWitt Collection and is identified as an "Eagle torchiere carried by the 'Roman Legion' in Harrison's inaugural parade" in 1841. Other examples have been seen by the writer in other collections. The torch in figure 8 is supported by a loop under each wing and a torch-wick opening appears on the top of each wing. The body of the eagle serves as a receptacle for the oil. Wingtip to wingtip, the eagle torch measures 9 inches and the body of the eagle measures 10 inches. No record of a patent or contemporary illustration has been found by the writer for this model.

FIREMAN'S TORCH 1860 *Figure 9*

USNM Collection

This fireman's torch is believed to have been used in the Lincoln campaign of 1860. It consists of a wooden handle with a funnel-shaped end on which is meshed wire and a wick. The torch is 26½ inches long including the handle. The head of the torch is 3¼ inches in diameter.

HOMEMADE TORCH, 1860 *Figure 10*

USNM 289457 (Heitmuller accession)

Homemade torches, crudely made of tin and fitted with a gas-pipe wick tube and claimed to have been used in a torchlight procession during the Lincoln campaign, were in the possession of the Heitmuller family of Washington in the early 20th century. One such torch was given the United States National Museum on December 11, 1915, and can be found in the

Figure 10.—Homemade torch, 1860.
(Smithsonian photo 30818–G.)

collections of the division of cultural history. Two other examples of this torch were acquired by the United States National Museum on September 17, 1959, from the Heitmuller heirs and are now in the division of political history. Other examples were put on the open market and are now in the hands of dealers and collectors. An illustration and description of this torch also appears in a United States National Museum publication entitled *Collection of heating and lighting utensils in the United States National Museum*. The diameter of this torch is 4½ inches, the torch bowl is 7⅝ inches high and the overall length including the metal rod handle is 34 inches. The torches swivel and the weight of the pipe in the top cause them to be top-heavy. Some of the torches appear to have been weighted to give them balance.

TRANSPARENCY, 1860 *Figure 11*

USNM 238747 (Hubbard accession)

Color transparencies were widely used during the campaign of 1860. Made of cheesecloth canvas supported by a wooden frame, these objects contained torches and were quite effective in parades. One example often seen in engravings was that bearing an extremely large eye showing the eyeball and lashes and bearing the wording "Wide Awakes." Such a transparency appears in the illustration shown on page 4. Another interesting transparency is this triangular object which has a legend on each side with one side having both a legend and a cutout engraving of Abraham Lincoln. A three-burner torch fastened to the inside came with the transparency illustrated in this figure. Each side of the transparency is 27½ inches wide and 21½ inches high.

Figure 11.—Transparency, 1860.
(Smithsonian photo 48331–A.)

TIN LANTERN, 1864 *Figure 12*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

In 1864, several interesting illuminating lanterns appeared on the market. This one, made of tin, contains three panels, each measuring 6¼ inches by 8 inches and each containing a glass with a design pasted on the outside to prevent its paper from burning. This particular lantern features a likeness of George McClellan on one side, the legend "Union and the Constitution" on the second side, and the legend "Little Mac" on the third side. The paper inserts were often copyrighted and examples are found in the collections of the prints and photographs division, Library of Congress. Although some have survived, the paper flakes off very easily and, for that reason, they are likely to deteriorate beyond recognition without proper care.

Figure 12.—Tin lantern, 1864. (Smithsonian photo 84721.)

Figure 13.—Campaign lantern, 1864, as shown in patent 1971, issued July 19, 1864.

Figure 14.—Tin lantern with glass panels, 1864. (*Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*)

CAMPAIGN LANTERN, 1864 *Figure 13*

No example found.

Similar in style to the lantern illustrated in figure 12, this campaign lantern was patented by I. S. Clough and Vincent Fountain, Jr., of New York, July 19, 1864 (patent 1971). There is a medallion-type panel on one side for any portrait; the one illustrated is that of Lincoln wearing a beard, and surrounded by a blue ground on which there are white stars representing the "Union." On the two other sides, there are alternately red and white horizontal stripes representing the field of the flag. On one of the two sides bearing the stripes, is the wording "Lincoln the man." The three sides combined thus make up the design of the American flag with a medallion upon its "Union." Although the author has not seen this particular lantern, a similar four-paneled lantern is owned by The New-York Historical Society and is discussed in the following item.

TIN LANTERN, 1864 *Figure 14*

The New-York Historical Society Collections

This particular lantern is made of tin and only two of the panels contain a design. On one is an engraving of Lincoln wearing a beard, while on the other is an eagle and shield inscribed "Union"; the third side is painted pink, and the fourth is plain.

CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1868 *Figure 15*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

This very plain torch, with a bowl composed of two cups of equal size soldered together, is of the 1868 period. On the torch, probably applied by the parader, are the last names of the Republican candidates in the campaign of 1868. The torch bowl measures 4 inches in diameter and is 3¾ inches high.

TIN TORCH, CIRCA 1868 *Figure 16*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

This torch has a supporting device of tin with turned edges. It is similar to one in the collection of J. Doyle DeWitt which is claimed to be of the 1868 period. The torch is of simple construction and was probably produced very economically. The bowl of the torch is 5 inches high and 4⅜ inches in diameter. The supporting device is 8 inches in length. A rivet fastens the torch to the swinging device.

DOUBLE-BURNER TIN TORCH, CIRCA 1868 *Figure 17*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

A second torch of the type just described, is similar in construction to that in figure 16, but differs in shape, and has two burners instead of the usual one. The torch is fastened to the frame by heavy wire. The two representations of flames have been added

Figure 15.—Campaign torch, 1868. (Smithsonian photo 49457–C.)

Figure 16.—Tin torch, circa 1868. (Smithsonian photo 49926–A.)

Figure 17.—Double-burner tin torch, circa 1868. (Smithsonian photo 49927–D.)

Figure 18.—Small tin torch, circa 1868. (Smithsonian photo 49926–C.)

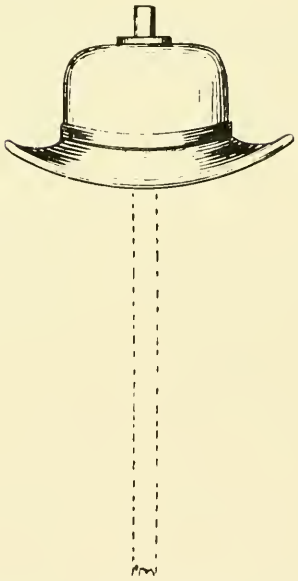


Figure 19.—Horace Greeley hat torch of 1872 as shown in patent 6119, issued September 10, 1872.

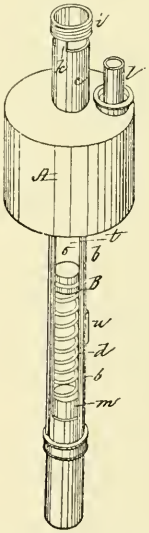


Figure 20.—Combined torch and candle holder as shown in patent 185147, issued December 5, 1876.

Figure 21.—Patent model of 1876 tin torch. (Smithsonian photo 50551.)

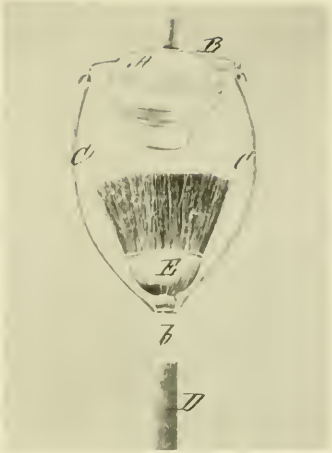


Figure 22.—Broom torch, 1876, as shown in patent 9411, issued August 1, 1876. (Smithsonian photo 53299.)

Figure 23.—Patent model of 1876 tin torch. (Smithsonian photo 50549.)

recently for effect and are in no way associated with the original device. The torch bowl is 6 inches in diameter at the top, 3 inches at the bottom, 5½ inches high, and the supporting frame is 7 inches high.

SMALL TIN TORCH, CIRCA 1868 *Figure 18*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Of a smaller size, but of the same general construction as those in figures 16 and 17, this torch bears a lamp-type burner marked "Meriden B. Miller & Co., Conn." The torch bowl is only 2⅞ inches high and has a diameter of approximately 2⅛ inches.

HORACE GREELEY HAT TORCH, 1872 *Figure 19*

No example found.

A most unusual and interesting campaign torch is this one patented in 1872 by Thomas Adams of Hudson City, New Jersey. Shaped like the crown of a soft hat, with a burner in the upper part and with the base of the lamp designed like the brim of a hat, this torch was made to resemble Horace Greeley's hat. The staff or carrying pole forms no part of the design.

COMBINED TORCH AND CANDLE HOLDER, 1876 *Figure 20*

No example found.

By 1876, torchlight parades were nearing their peak and during that year some five or more improved or different torches appeared. This type was patented by Augustus Tufts of Malden, Massachusetts, in 1876. This invention consisted of a combined torch and holder for Roman candles, colored lights, and rockets.[3]

TIN TORCH, 1876 *Figure 21*

USNM 332317 (Patent model)

George F. Hollis of Boston, Massachusetts, in 1876 patented this improvement in the swinging torches by adding a double-swing device made of wire rather than the old type made of sheet metal. The bowl of this torch measures 4 inches high and has a 5-inch diameter; the diameter of the wire bracket is 6½ inches. The burner is of brass. This invention made it possible to produce a cheaper torch.

[3] The third claim of the original patent regarding the spring-feeder device in the handle of the torch infringed on one patented by S. W. Francis (patent 147926 issued February 24, 1874), and thus was denied to Tufts.

Figure 24.—Patent model of 1876 flare torch. (Smithsonian photo 10342-F.)

Figure 25.—Collapsible lantern, 1876. (Smithsonian photo 49927-F.)

Figure 26.—Patent model of two-burner tin torch, 1877. (Smithsonian photo 50546.)

BROOM TORCH, 1876 *Figure 22*

No example found.

Carrying his invention still further, G. F. Hollis, in 1876, sought to procure a design patent on the same torch combining it with a broom or brush. This device was designed for use in political and other clubs. The supporting wires were somewhat longer than those described in patent 180585, so that they could be fastened to the stick which is below the straw portion of the broom. In seeking this patent, Hollis identifies this device as something to be "Used as an emblem or symbol of victory." No patent model was submitted with the patent request.

TIN TORCH, 1876 *Figure 23*

USNM 332317 (Patent model)

This torch, patented by Moritz Saulson in 1876, and assigned to Minnie Saulson of Troy, New York, includes such improvements as a bent shank. The shank has at one end a pair of arms which are pivoted to the cup and at the other end a swiveled connection with the torch handle. The diameter of the torch bowl is 5 inches and the bowl is 3¾ inches high. The purpose of this invention was to provide a torch whose bowl would remain always in a vertical position regardless of how it was carried. Although such a torch was devised as early as 1860,[4] Saulson claimed his device to be cheaper and more effective. Another example of this type of torch is in the J. Doyle DeWitt Collection.

FLARE TORCH, 1876 *Figure 24*

USNM 251746 (Patent model)

A great contribution was made to parade paraphernalia when, in 1876, Ira W. Shaler of Brooklyn, New York, patented a more elaborate torch known as the "flare torch." This torch is made of tin, painted red, and has a long bulbous handle. The torch is composed of an ordinary lamp or reservoir, such as is used for burning heavy oils, and is provided with a wick tube. A small tube passes through the lamp; the upper end is close to the wick tube and the lower end extends through the cylindrical projection formed on the bottom of the lamp. A metal tube forms part of the handle of the torch. Near the lower end of the tube is a cross-partition. Above this, the tube is filled with sawdust saturated with benzine, naphtha, or other volatile hydrocarbon liquid. A perforated

[4] Claims 1 and 2 of the original patent request interfered with those met by L. T. Pitkin, September 18, 1860, in a patent on lamps.

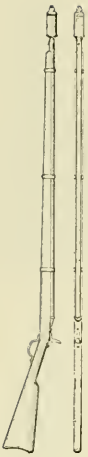


Figure 27.—Rifle torch, 1880, as shown in patent 233039, issued October 5, 1880 (see also figure 6). (Smithsonian photo 53300).

diaphragm then is pressed down on the sawdust. A mouthpiece is screwed into the tube. When the torch is lighted the heavy oil burns at all times with the same flame except when a brighter flame is desired. By uncrewing the mouthpiece and blowing through it, one causes a gust of air to pass through the sawdust and light oil, suddenly igniting the flame and producing a so-called "flash light." Repeating this in no way interferes with the light of the torch itself. This torch is patented both in the stationary type and the swivel type, and the patent model is 24⅝ inches in length.

The Shaler flare torch, although not patented until 1876, appears as early as 1872 in an advertisement found on page 678 of *Harper's Weekly*, August 31, 1872. (See illustration on p. 15 of this study.)

COLLAPSIBLE LANTERN, 1876 *Figure 25*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Collapsible lanterns were used profusely in street parades during the latter half of the 19th century. Made in China and Japan and sold through agencies in this country, these paper lanterns were usually very colorful. When the candle was lighted, the effect was quite spectacular. This particular lantern bears the likeness of Rutherford B. Hayes on one side and that of William A. Wheeler on the reverse. A stripe with stars appears at the bottom and top. The lantern is 7¼ inches in diameter and expands to approximately 13 inches in height.

TWO-BURNER TIN TORCH, 1877 *Figure 26*

USNM 331365 (Patent model)

An improved two-burner torch was patented by James A. McPherson of Brunswick, New York, on February 13, 1877, and features a torch frame which can be removed from the torch bowl, when desired, and reassembled. Malleable iron was preferred for the frame so that it could be cast in one piece and be sufficiently flexible to allow the arms to swing apart from the eyes of the cup of the bowl. The framework of the swivel is designed in such a way that whenever the torch is picked up by its handle, the cup must immediately assume a perpendicular position. The pivots can be sprung from the eyes of the bowl and returned on the same bowl or another. In this way, if either the cup or frame of the torch became damaged, the damaged portion could be removed and one would not have to throw away the entire torch. The model is 12 inches in length with only a small section of the pole. The diameter of the bowl is 5 inches and the height without the brass burner is 3½ inches.

RIFLE TORCH, 1880 *Figure 27*

From patent drawing.

G. D. Smith, in 1880, patented an important improvement in the rifle torch used in night processions by devising a tube-type torch which formed part of the rifle barrel. This also gave the torch a more definite shape resembling that of a common musket with a lamp or burner on the muzzle of its barrel. By having such a device, the parader could conveniently execute the usual military manual of arms for the musket while the torch was burning. The torch was provided with a feature whereby reserve burning liquid could be kept in the torch away from the lamp or burner, to prevent vaporization of the liquid in the torch and also to prevent it from being top-heavy. Torches of this nature were sold consistently throughout the 1880's and appeared in the sales catalogs for that period. No patent model was submitted at the time of the patentee's request.

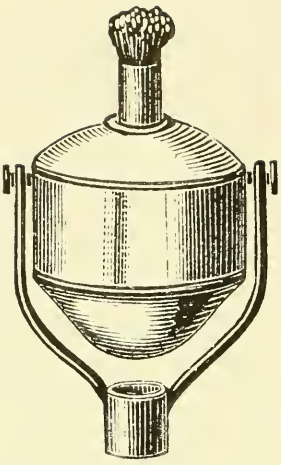


Figure 28.—Tin torch, circa 1880. (Illustration from advertisement sheet.)

Figure 29.—Ballot-box torch, 1880. (Smithsonian photo 49926.)

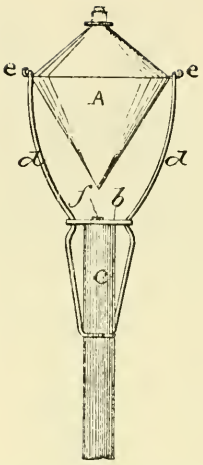


Figure 30.—Tin torch, 1880, as shown in patent 232265, issued September 14, 1880.

TIN TORCH, CIRCA 1880 *Figure 28*

No example found.

This small and well-proportioned torch was illustrated in an advertisement circular distributed by E. G. Rideout & Co., New York, in 1880. The bowl, composed of three portions joined together and containing a single burner, does not represent any great advance in torch development.

BALLOT-BOX TORCH, 1880 *Figure 29*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

This most appropriate torch was devised in 1880 for use in torchlight processions, especially for political organizations, and for other similar purposes. This torch representing a globe ballot box, was patented by J. McGregor Adams of Chicago, Illinois. The torch is composed of upper and lower metal plates joined by four posts, making a skeleton frame similar to the frame of a globe ballot box. The frame measures approximately 4½ inches square and is 4 inches high, and within it is a glass oil receptacle made in the form of a globe. The wick tube rises from the upper portion of the globe and extends above the upper plate, occupying the relative position of the slot through which ballots are deposited in a ballot box. The patentee suggested that appropriate inscriptions applicable to the special use be applied to the glass globe. Whether any of the globes did have such inscriptions is not known. The only examples seen by the author have been without inscriptions. Other than the one illustrated, there is one in the U.S. National Museum that has a celluloid flyer attached to one of the posts and bears portraits of Harrison and Reid and the date "1892." The posts of this torch are painted red and blue.

TIN TORCH, 1880 *Figure 30*

No example found.

In 1880, C. Otto Hammer of Allegheny, Pennsylvania, patented this improvement in the supporting device of the torch. The patent was assigned to Dora Hammer. This invention consists of a method of suspending the lamp by a wire or bail, part of which is first loosely coiled around the staff on which the lamp is carried, then confined by a revolving plate on top of the staff, and finally secured by eyes on hooks at the side of the lamp, allowing the staff to be turned in all directions without upturning the lamp. The lamp is similar in form to two cones of unequal height but equal united bases, the smaller cone representing the

Figure 31.—Tin torch, 1880.
(Smithsonian photo 49927-G.)

top and the larger the bottom. By its weight when filled with oil, the lower portion serves as a counterbalance to keep the lamp always in a vertical position. The lamp is suspended by hooks on either side of the juncture of the two cones. The wire supporting the torch is loosely coiled around the staff and the ends are brought upward on opposite sides and bent toward each other at a point near the plate, which is pivoted on the end of the staff by a screw. The distance between the coil and the shoulders of the bracket is not more than two or three inches. These torches were designed especially for torchlight processions.

TIN TORCH, 1880 *Figure 31*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

An improvement in the pivoting frame appeared when Herménégilde Préfontaine of Troy, New York, in 1880, patented a frame made of one single piece of wire coiled at the bottom to resemble a mandrel rod. A nail passed through the coiled wire fastens the supporting frame to the staff. The claim for this invention was to simplify the construction and thus cheapen the cost of the torches.[5] No patent model was submitted at the time the patentee submitted his request. The diameter of the torch bowl is 3½ inches at the top and 4 inches at the bottom. The bowl is 3 inches high.

[5] Claim 3 of the original patent request was denied in that it interfered with a patent on coffeepots previously acquired by Gibson (patent 98244), issued December 28, 1869. This claim had to do with the manner in which the supporting device was received in the sides of the torch.

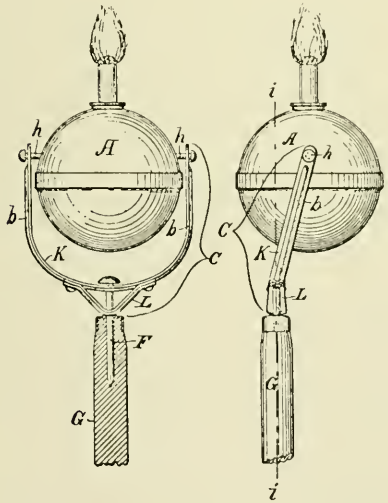


Figure 32.—Tin torch, 1880, as shown in patent 288476, issued June 8, 1880.

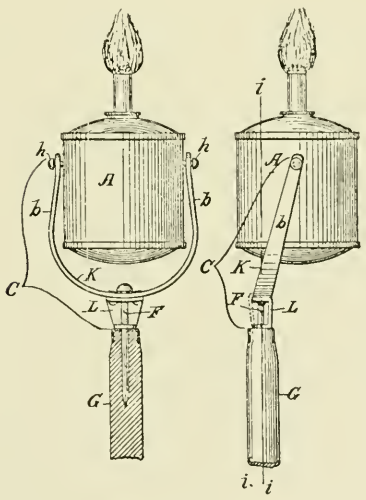


Figure 33.—Tin torch, 1880, as shown in patent 288476, issued June 8, 1880.

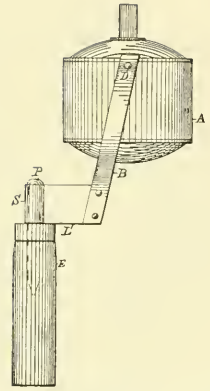


Figure 34.—Tin torch, 1883, as shown in patent 270600, issued January 16, 1883.

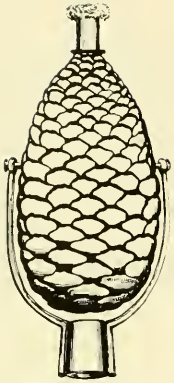


Figure 35.—Pine-cone torch, 1884, as shown in patent 15206, issued August 5, 1884.

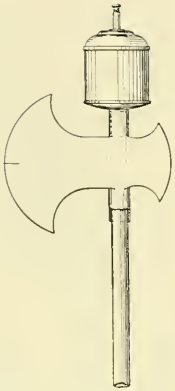


Figure 36.—Combined torch and battle ax, 1884, as shown in patent 309370, issued December 16, 1884.

TIN TORCH, 1880 *Figure 32*

No example found.

A second torch was patented by Herménégilde Préfontaine in 1880, securing the lamp at diametrically opposite points above its center of gravity to the end part of the two arms of a frame. In its middle, the frame has a socket, through which a pin pivots and secures the frame to the handle. The object of this invention is to keep the lamp and the bifurcated frame always in a vertical position by having their weight serve as a counterbalance. Through the end of the arms of the supporting device are pivot perforations.

The supporting frame, slightly offset, is made of wrought or sheet metal, the lower portion being reinforced by a V-shaped metal strap. The pin around which the torch pivots passes through the frame and strap and is fastened into the head of the staff. The patentee claims this to be an improvement over the method devised by Moritz Saulson in patent 183332, dated October 17, 1876, and assigned to Minnie Saulson (fig. 23). Similar to this improvement, Préfontaine devised a second improvement on the same patent in which the V-shaped reinforcing strap is replaced by a U-shaped single piece of metal bent at the top and bottom to give it lips, but open on one side and the ends. The pin passes through perforations in the lower portion of the metal strap and through the lips into the staff. No patent models were submitted to the Patent Office on these inventions.

TIN TORCH, 1880 *Figure 33*

No example found.

This torch is approximately the same as the one illustrated in figure 32 with the exception of the shape of the bowl, and is from the same patent drawing.

TIN TORCH, 1883 *Figure 34*

No example found.

An improvement on the torch previously patented in 1877 by James A. McPherson was made in 1883 when Henry McPherson of Troy, New York, devised and assigned to James A. McPherson a change in the supporting device. Mr. McPherson's invention consisted of an offset support, the lower portion of folded metal (see fig. 34), which permitted it to be rotated around the pole.[6]

PINE-CONE TORCH, 1884 *Figure 35*

No example found.

The pine-tree state of Maine held many rallies for their favorite son, James G. Blaine, and a torch showing a pine cone was patented in 1884 by F. C. Goodwin of Chelsea, Massachusetts.

[6] The original patent claim was rejected in that it interfered with one earlier patented by Préfontaine (patent 228476), issued June 8, 1880, on torches.

Figure 37.—Wooden ax torch handle, 1884 and 1888, as shown in a sales catalog.

Figure 38.—Tin torch, 1884. (Smithsonian photo 49926-D.)

Figure 39.—Union torch, 1884 and 1888, as shown in a sales catalog. (Smithsonian photo 53811.)

COMBINED TORCH AND BATTLE AX, 1884 *Figure 36*

No identical example found.

This combined torch and battle ax first appeared in 1884, as a part of the Plumed Knight's Armor and was patented by Abraham Wolf of New York City. It was designed especially for use in torchlight processions. The ax is made of two plates soldered to each other at their front and rear edges and provided with sockets to receive the staff; to the upper socket is soldered the torch. Many confuse this combination torch and battle ax with the rail-splitter's ax used during the Lincoln campaigns of 1860 and 1864, examples of which are preserved in the Lincoln Museum, Washington, D.C., and in the U.S. National Museum. No patent model was submitted at the time of the patent request.

WOODEN-AX TORCH HANDLE, 1884 AND 1888 *Figure 37*

Example from a sales catalog.

This is one of many wooden axes which sold by the hundreds during the 1880's. The torches were not included with the ax, and thus one could attach any type of torch desired. An example of the combined battle ax and torch is in the Becker Collection and bears a torch patented by John Dunlap and Ewalt Riedel in 1884. Still others are illustrated in The Unexcelled Fireworks catalog of 1884, having metal ax heads either polished or painted red, white, and blue with a spear at the top instead of a torch.

TIN TORCH, 1884 *Figure 38*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

This torch patented by A. J. Duncan of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1884 (patent 304919, issued September 9, 1884), is an improvement in the manufacturing of torches in that the cups containing the burning fluid are supported by revolvable arms, fastened to a socket that turns on a pin in the end of the staff. The arms and the socket were made of one piece of sheet metal without riveting or other means of attachment. Although the torch illustrated on the patent request is of an inverted funnel shape, others were produced using the same supporting device. The one illustrated has a somewhat rounded bowl, is 4½ inches high, and has a diameter of 4 inches.

UNION TORCH, 1884 AND 1888 *Figure 39*

USNM 332319 (Patent model)

This torch was known both as the "Union torch" and as the "telescope torch." It was sold in lots of 100 during the campaigns of 1884 and 1888. The overall length of the torch is 4 feet 2 inches and closes to half its length. The handles are turned and stained.

Similar to the Union torch was the colored torch

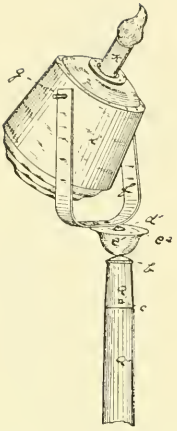


Figure 40.—Tin torch, 1884, as shown in patent 305377, issued September 16, 1884.

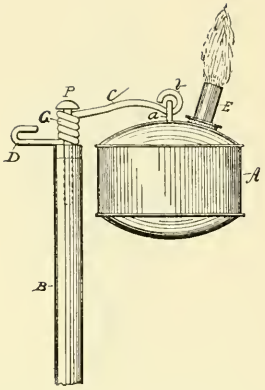


Figure 41.—Tin torch with stacking attachment, 1884, as shown in patent 299411, issued May 27, 1884.

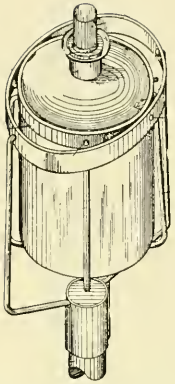


Figure 42.—Double-swinging glass-bowl torch, 1885, as shown in patent 316440, issued April 28, 1885.

consisting of a long tube case with a handle, used for the purpose of carrying it in a procession. It made a brilliant colored illumination along the line of march, burning blue, red, or green and lasting about fifteen minutes. Carried in the hand at a slight incline, they were claimed to be undoubtedly the best thing for the purpose ever introduced and were "just the thing for lawn illuminations."

TIN TORCH, 1884 *Figure 40*

No example found.

This torch was patented by John Dunlap and Ewalt Riedel of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1884, and assigned to John Dunlap.[7] It contains an improvement in the arrangement and construction of devices for securing the frame of the lamp to the stock. The supporting device is fastened on the bottom to a hollow metallic cup having one end closed by the convex piece. The other and open end of the socket fits over the end of the torch pole and is secured by a rivet. A bolt fastens the supporting arms to the cup. No patent model was submitted to the Patent Office for this patent.

[7] The original patent request on torches interfered with a claim already met by McPherson (patent 270600), issued January 6, 1883, and Hammer (patent 232265), issued September 15, 1880.

TIN STACKING TORCH, 1884 *Figure 41*

No example found.

James A. McPherson of Brunswick, New York, in 1884, further improved on his patents of 1877 and 1883 (see p. 30), when he developed a torch which could be stacked like military arms.[8] The torch frame consisted of a single piece of wire, bent at one end to support the torch and coiled in the middle. The nail or pin passed through the coiled portion to fasten it to the carrying pole. The other end of the torch frame contained a hook. With this device, three or more of the torches could be stacked when not being carried in the parade. No patent model was submitted with the request for a patent.

DOUBLE-SWINGING GLASS-BOWL TORCH, 1885 *Figure 42*

No example found.

This torch was patented by Charles L. Betts of

[8] Claims 1 and 4 of the original patent request were denied in that they infringed upon patents on torches earlier obtained by McPherson (patent 270600), issued January 16, 1883, and Saulson (patent 188332), issued October 17, 1876, also on torches. One new invention claimed by McPherson was the employment of one arm instead of two in the supporting device. Another feature was the room saved in packing, for the old type with the bifurcated arms occupied twice as much space.

Figure 43.—Cone torch, 1887, as shown in a sales catalog.

Figure 44.—Ax torch, 1884 and 1888. (Smithsonian photo 53811.)

Chicago, Illinois, in 1885.[9] The bowl was made of glass and had a groove at the top with a metal band around the bowl under the groove. A larger metal ring fitted around this first one and pivoted on the first. Supporting arms then fastened into the second ring and connected to the supporting pole, giving the torch a double-swinging action. No model was submitted to the Patent Office for this device. The request stated that one half of this patent was assigned to R. E. Dietz, Warren McArthur, and John E. Dietz.

CONE TORCH, 1887 *Figure 43*

No example found.

This cone-shaped torch was patented in 1887, by George F. Seavey of Boston, Massachusetts, and Isaac S. Lauback of Cambridge, Massachusetts.[10] Although no patent model was submitted at the time of the patent request, this type of torch was produced and appeared for sale in trade catalogs. This torch had a double-swinging action and a tin burner. The oil capacity was 1½ pints. The improvement claimed in this patent related to the hanger or bail and permitted the lamp to be suspended from the ends of the hanger or bail so that, when the pole to which the hanger was secured was in a vertical position, the bowl would hang to one side of the center line of the pole.

AX TORCH, 1884 AND 1888 *Figure 44*

USNM 15386 (Unexcelled Fireworks Collection)

This ax torch, advertised as the "'UNXLD' Axe Torch" appeared on the market in 1884 and 1888. Being somewhat different from the earlier ax torches, this torch does not contain the usual torch bowl, but rather has the torch made into the end of the ax head. Its composition is similar to the "Union Torch" mentioned in figure 39 and is suggestive of the method illustrated in figure 27 relating to the rifle torch. The torch tube and the ax head are made of tin while the handle is made of wood. The overall length of the torch is 48 inches, the metal end being 14 inches long. The ax blade is 5¾ inches wide and 8¾ inches front to back. The illustration is taken from a sales catalog.

TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 45*

No example found.

A device termed as a "torch-yoke" was patented by

[9] This patent, as originally presented, infringed on earlier patents obtained by Nichols (patent 205203), issued June 25, 1878, on lamp collars; by Préfontaine (patent 233163), issued October 12, 1880, on torches; by Parker (patent 123415), issued February 6, 1872 on lamp collars; by House (patent 76764), issued April 14, 1868, on lamp collars; by Benson (patent 186102), issued January 9, 1877, on vapor burners; by Wharton (patent 211484), issued January 21, 1879, on lamp collars; and by Drake (patent 197109), issued November 13, 1877, on lamp collars.

[10] The first application for this patent was rejected and thus amendments were submitted. Some interfered with patents earlier received by Evans (patent 5578), issued September 23, 1873, on metallic vessels, ears and bails, and Friedman (patent 238883), issued March 15, 1881, on pots and kettles.

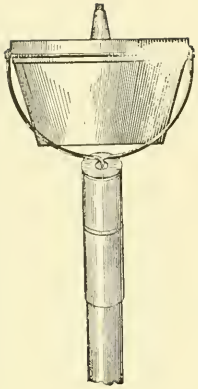


Figure 45.—Tin torch, 1888, as shown in patent 391665, issued October 23, 1888.

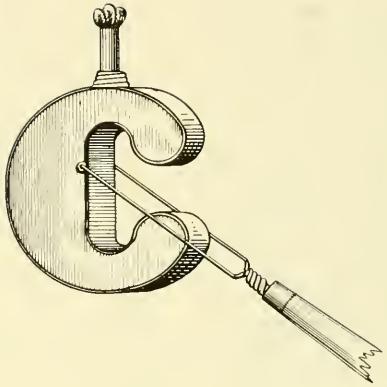


Figure 46.—Cleveland tin torch, 1888, as shown in patent 18611, issued September 18, 1888.

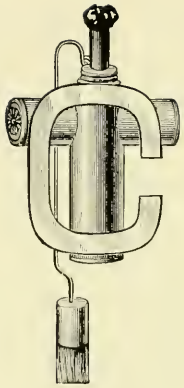


Figure 47.—Initial campaign torch, 1888, as shown in a sales catalog.

Henry J. Vogel of Brooklyn, New York, in 1888 Like most of the patents on torches, this consisted of an improvement in the supporting device only, and not in the torch bowl. The supporting device, that portion containing two arms which fastened to the bowl, was termed the "yoke." The yoke is made of a single piece of wire with its central part formed into a stem. A box washer is suspended on the end of the ferrule through which the stem passes and goes into the ferrule. The ferrule is adapted to take the end of the handle and to receive and hold the box washer. A cap on the upper end of the ferrule holds the stem in place; however, the arms of the support turn free of the cap. When the box and cap are united around the stem, the stem is held tightly in the ferrule and prevents unnecessary shaking of the torch. No model was submitted to the Patent Office.

CLEVELAND TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 46*

No example found.

By 1888, the concept of making a torch convey an idea or an image had found its way into the patents, and during that year, Lester C. Beardsley of Cleveland, Ohio, patented two torches, using initials on the body of the torch. The one illustrated containing a "C" represented the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland.

INITIAL TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 47*

No example found.

This torch, similar in purpose to the one illustrated in the previous figure, appeared in a sales catalog of 1888. The body of the torch was made in the shape of a "T" suggesting the vice-presidential candidate Thurman, with a "C" made of metal and soldered thereon.

HARRISON TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 48*

No example found.

Made in the shape of an "H" representing the Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, this torch was also patented by Lester C. Beardsley. The initial was hollow and acted as a receptacle for oil.

INITIAL TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 49*

No example found.

This torch, similar to that illustrated in figure 48, appeared in an Unexcelled Fireworks sales catalog of 1888. The body of the torch was made in the shape of an "H" representing Benjamin Harrison and an initial of smaller size was soldered below the bridge in the letter "H." Since the catalog in which this was advertised stated that a patent had been applied

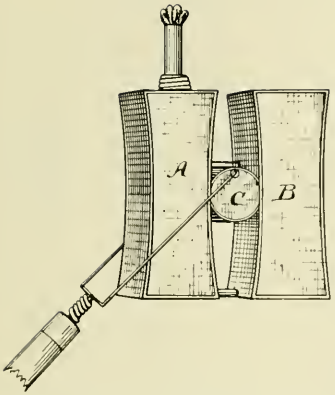


Figure 48.—Harrison tin torch, 1888, as shown in patent 18715, issued November 6, 1888.

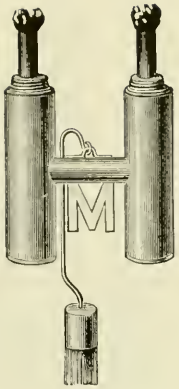


Figure 49.—Initial campaign torch, 1888, as shown in a sales catalog.

Figure 50.—Nickel torch for cap, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49927-C.)

for, it is quite possible that these torches might have been based on the patent obtained by Lester C. Beardsley in 1888.

NICKEL TORCH FOR CAP, 1888 *Figure 50*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Small nickel torches to be worn on caps appear in the sales catalogs of 1888. These torches are very light, weighing only 3 ounces. The bowl is approximately 2¾ inches high excluding the wick and, at its broadest point, the diameter is 2½ inches. A nickel shield measuring 1¼ inches by 1½ inches fastens the torch bracket to the front of the blocked cap. A similar device had been patented as early as June 1885 (patent 319382), when C. E. Bartram devised a swinging lamp having rods in the sides and wire standards attached to a metal ring that fastened to the crown of the parader's hat.

NICKEL TORCH FOR CAP, 1888 *Figure 51*

USNM 235936 (Cousley accession)

This small nickel torch for a cap is similar to the type and size illustrated in figure 50, differing only in its design. A nickel nipple is shown covering the wick when the torch is not in use.

BRASS TORCH FOR CAP, 1888 *Figure 52*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

In weight and size, this torch is similar to the cap torches previously illustrated. It was made by J. W. Pepper of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The torch is 4½ inches high including the wick, and the diameter at the bottom is 2½ inches. The supporting wire is 4¾ inches high.

CAP WITH NICKEL TORCH, 1888 *Figure 53*

No assembled example found.

This blocked-front cap clearly illustrates the use of a lightweight torch similar to that in the Sam A. Cousley accession. The caps were of patriotic colors which blended with the parade clothing.

NICKEL-PLATED HELMET AND TORCH, 1888 *Figure 54*

No example found.

Nickel-plated helmets had oval-shaped tin torches which were fastened by wire brackets to the crown of the helmet. Although the author has never seen an example, illustrations of this combined helmet and torch appear in the sales catalogs of 1888.

Figure 51.—Nickel torch with nipple over the burner, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49926-E.)

Figure 52.—Brass torch for cap, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49927-B.)

Figures 53 through 59:

53.—Cap showing the nickel torch, 1888, as it appears in a sales catalog.

54.—Nickel-plated helmet and torch, 1888, as it appears in a sales catalog.

55.—Helmet flash torch, circa 1888, as it appears in a sales catalog.

56.—Torchlight pin, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 63323.)

57.—Campaign torch, 1888, as shown in patent 18585, issued September 4, 1888.

58.—"Tip-a-canoe" torch, 1888, as shown in patent 18669, issued October 2, 1888.

59.—Metal torch, 1888, as shown in patent 391669, issued October 23, 1888.

HELMET FLASH TORCH, CIRCA 1888 *Figure 55*

No example found.

A unique device was also patented whereby a torch was affixed to the crown of the helmet and a rubber tube passed from the torch as a chin strap and into the mouth. By blowing into this tube, the parader could produce a large flash, thus this device became known as the "helmet flash torch." There were many varieties of flash torches and they were very spectacular in political parades.

TORCHLIGHT PIN, 1888 *Figure 56*

USNM (Political History Collections)

By 1888 the torchlight had become such an integral part of political campaigning that stickpins bearing a miniature torchlight were being sold by Robert Sneider, manufacturer of campaign badges in New York. Plated in gold or silver, these badges were exact reproductions of the single swivel-type torch with the pole forming a stickpin. The wick is made of red, white and blue cotton. The overall length is 3½ inches. Just how many of these pins have survived is not known. The pin illustrated is gold plated.

CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 57*

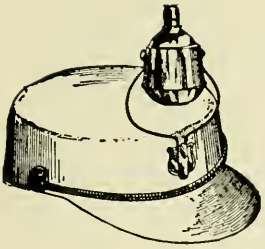
No example found.

This torch in the shape of a human bust, another of the suggestive types of this period, was patented by Oliver Carmelia of Ottawa, Illinois. The oil reservoir was shaped externally to represent a human head or bust and was supported between the forks of a bifurcated torch stick. This was patented specifically for a campaign torch and a patent model was submitted, but the model has not been located.

"TIP-A-CANOE" TORCH, 1888 *Figure 58*

No example found.

Made in the shape of a canoe, this torch is one of the most interesting of the patented torches. When the canoe was tipped or tilted, it might suggest Benjamin Harrison, grandson of the famed "Tippecanoe" Harrison of 1840. This torch was patented by John W. Rohm of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Neither the patent model nor an example of this torch have been located by the writer.



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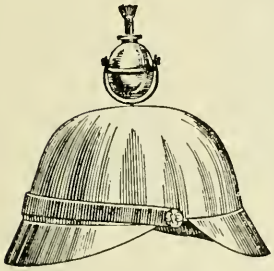

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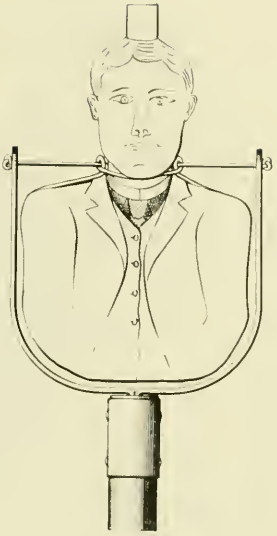

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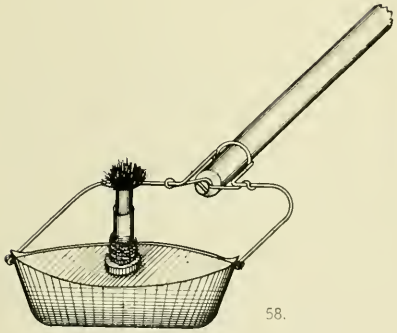

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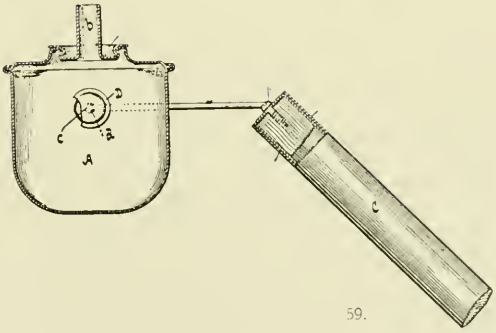


59.

METAL TORCH, 1888 *Figure 59*

No example found.

Richard Whitaker of New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1888, patented this improved feature in torches, whereby the supporting device of earlier torches was modified.[11] This patent was assigned to The Consolidated Fruit Jar Company of New York. A revolvable head, made of sheet metal, contained longitudinal sockets which held the ends of the supporting arms. Over the end of the handle a metal cap was loosely fitted, secured by a screw through the top so that it could revolve around the handle. The supporting arms of the torch were crumped firmly to this cap by a collar, thus permitting the torch and cap to rotate together. No patent model was submitted with the patent request.

[11] This patent interfered with patent 233163, issued October 12, 1880, to Préfontaine; patent 365706 issued June 28, 1887, to Seavey and Laubach; and patent 316440 issued April 28, 1885, to Betts (torches).

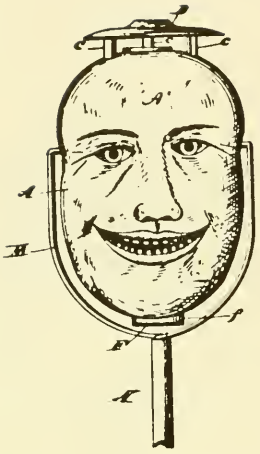
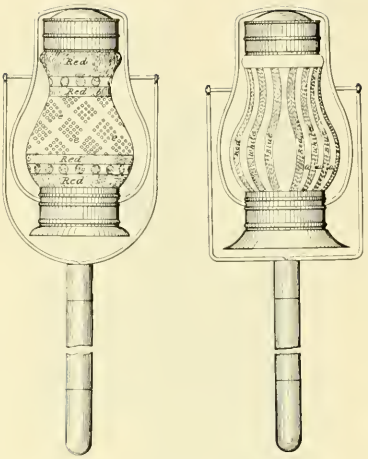


Figure 60.—Jack-A-Lantern torch, 1889, as shown in patent 396252, issued January 15, 1889.



Figures 61 & 62.—Campaign lanterns, 1888. Lantern on left, as shown in patent 18717, and lantern on right, as shown in patent 18716. Both patents were issued on November 6, 1888.

Figure 63.—Lantern frame, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49926-G.)

"JACK-A-LANTERN" TORCH, 1889 *Figure 60*

No example found.

This Jack-A-Lantern torch was invented by George A. Beidler of Middletown, Pennsylvania, in 1889, as a toy for amusing children, and in addition "might be used as a campaign torch for celebrations, torch-light processions, political meetings and other like occasions where an effective pyrotechnic display is desirable."[12] The body of the torch was constructed of sheet metal, papier-mache, glass, or other material capable of being shaped. The torch is made of two pieces so that when placed back to back it would present a likeness of a human face on each side. The portions representing the eyes, nostrils, and mouth were to be cut away for illuminating. At the top of the torch was an opening, over which was an elevated hood to permit the escape of the vitiated air, yet keep out the rain or snow. A disk at the bottom of the torch served as a resting place for a candle or a lamp. The supporting device was made of wire. No model was submitted to the Patent Office, and the writer has never seen an example of this torch. After the turn of the century, other Jack-A-Lantern torches, somewhat resembling the earlier one, were patented.

[12] The original patent claim included ears, but this claim was later struck out because they did not appear in the drawings. The patent also claimed exclusive right to the original idea of molding material in the shape of a human head. This was rejected since it interfered with British patent 14806, issued in 1887 to Barker and Nuthall for lamp shades, and French patent 194815, issued September 4, 1777, on masks. The French claimed there was no novelty in molding a material in the shape of a human head and the English claimed there was nothing new involved in the making of a head with translucent apertures. A similar American patent 313343 was issued on March 3, 1885, to Kitchen for signs. Also conflicting with Beidler's patent is that granted to Wattles (patent 104516) June 21, 1870, on lamp shades.

Beidler's idea of having the support for the candleholder or lamp attached to the main part by a bayonet joint was rejected in that it had previously been exhibited by DeForest (patent 29472, issued August 7, 1860) for lanterns and Pratt (patent 166223, issued August 3, 1875) for candlesticks. Other portions of the patent interfered with patents granted Hollis (patent 180585, issued August 1, 1876) and Préfontaine (patent 233163, issued October 12, 1880) for torches.

Figure 64.—Collapsible paper lantern, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 46685-D.)

CAMPAIGN LANTERN, 1888 *Figure 61*

No example found.

This is one of several lantern bodies patented by Walter C. Beckwith of Fostoria, Ohio, during the campaign year of 1888. This one involved a lantern which could be used either as a torch suspended from a pole or as a lantern which could be hung.

CAMPAIGN LANTERN, 1888 *Figure 62*

No example found.

Another lantern body patented by Walter C. Beckwith was this one showing a slightly different base and another variation of the globe from those shown in figure 61. Both of the lanterns bore red, white and blue globes which were modifications of the U.S. flag, and, for light, burned candles. The patent stated that both were "particularly applicable to lanterns for campaign purposes, being somewhat characteristic of one of the political parties now in the field." Within the two patents, Mr. Beckwith illustrated five globes of different designs.

LANTERN FRAME, 1888 *Figure 63*

USNM 215215.2 (Watson accession)

This torch frame is similar to one illustrated on both of the two previously mentioned patents submitted by Walter C. Beckwith. This particular frame was patented by R. H. Taber on May 3, 1887 (patent 362331). It is 12 inches high with a diameter of 3 inches at the top and 4½ inches at the bottom. Candles are used for lighting the lantern. Various globes with patriotic designs were used on this type of lantern as illustrated in the patent by Beckwith.

COLLAPSIBLE PAPER LANTERN, 1888 *Figure 64*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

This paper lantern with a wire and wood frame is one of many which were produced for parade use during the late 19th century. Light is provided by a candle on the inside. The colorful paper covers bore pictures of the candidates, log-cabin motifs, and other symbols relating to the issues of the campaign. It was manufactured by Sprague and French of Norwalk, Ohio. Collapsed, the cover is 23¼ inches long and 7 inches wide in the middle, tapering on the ends.

METAL CAMPAIGN TORCHES

WITH STICKS AND WICKS COMPLETE

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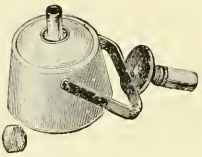

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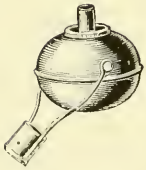

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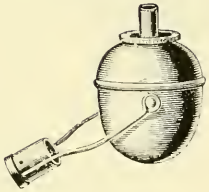

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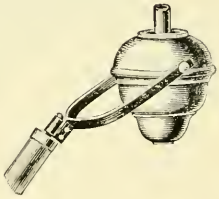

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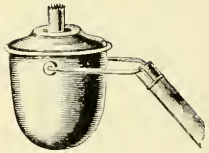

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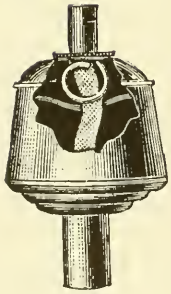
SIPHON VENTED TORCHES



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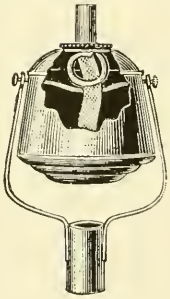

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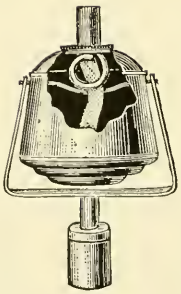
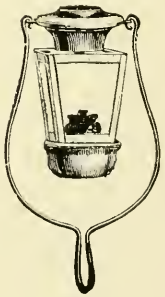


76.

COLORED GLASS CAP TORCH



77.

The campaign torches of the 1880's illustrated in figures 65 through 77 on page 40 were shown in the 1888 "Illustrated Campaign Handbook" of The Unexcelled Fireworks Company.

CYLINDER REVERSIBLE TORCH *Figure 65*

No example found.

This cylinder reversible torch with brass burners and Russia-iron frames had an oil capacity of 1 pint.

SINGLE-SWING CAMPAIGN TORCH *Figure 66*

No example found.

Another torch illustrated in the trade catalog is this single-swing torch with brass or tin burners with an oil capacity of 1 pint.

DOME REVERSIBLE TORCH *Figure 67*

No example found.

The dome reversible torch is believed to be of the 1888 period and has an oil capacity of 1½ pints.

ANGLE-FRAME SWING TORCH *Figure 68*

No example found.

Known as an angle-frame, double-swing torch with an improved oil drip and wire frame, this torch has an oil capacity of 1½ pints.

DOUBLE-SWING GLOBE TORCH *Figure 69*

No example found.

This conventional-type torch was advertised as a double-swing globe torch with either a brass or a tin burner. The oil capacity was 2 pints.

SINGLE-SWING BALL TORCH *Figure 70*

No example found.

This well-proportioned torch is known as the single-swing ball torch and is shown as it appeared in the 1888 trade catalog.

SINGLE-SWING EGG TORCH *Figure 71*

No example found.

Because of its shape, this torch is generally referred to as an "egg torch." It has an oil capacity of 2 pints and the supporting frame may be either of the single- or double-swing design.

SINGLE-SWING ACORN TORCH *Figure 72*

No example found.

From the general style of this torch, one would compare it with that described in patent 304919, dated September 9, 1884 (fig. 38). Known as the "acorn torch," the supporting frame could be either that of the single- or double-swinging device. The oil capacity is 1¾ pints.

DOUBLE-SWING CAMPAIGN TORCH *Figure 73*

No example found.

This torch, known as a double-swing parabola torch, had an oil capacity of 2 pints.

UPRIGHT SIPHON-VENTED TORCH *Figure 74*

No example found.

One of three siphon-vented torches sold during the campaign of 1888, this was of the stationary type, had no swinging device, and was known as the upright siphon-vented torch. It had an oil capacity of 1½ pints.

SINGLE-SWING, SIPHON-VENTED TORCH *Figure 75*

No example found.

This torch had an oil capacity of 1½ pints.

UNIVERSAL SWING-TYPE, SIPHON-VENTED TORCH *Figure 76*

No example found.

This type of siphon-vented torch was known as the universal swing type. The patent application claimed that the burner used on these torches prevented overflowing, explosion, and gave a clearer and brighter light with less smoke and better combustion.

NICKEL-FRAME CAP TORCH *Figure 77*

No example found.

Besides the cap torches of light tin already discussed, small lanterns were also manufactured for use on blocked caps. An example of such a lantern, with colored glass panels and a nickel frame, is illustrated in figure 77. The height of the lantern was 5 inches.

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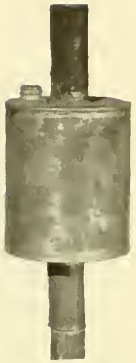


Figure 78.—Upright can-and-socket torch, circa 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49926-B.)

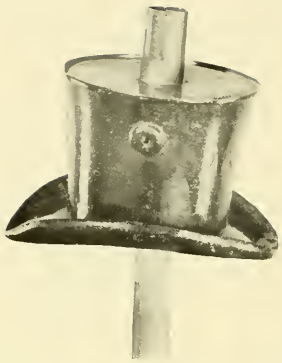


Figure 79.—Beaver-hat torch, 1888. (Smithsonian photo 49457.)

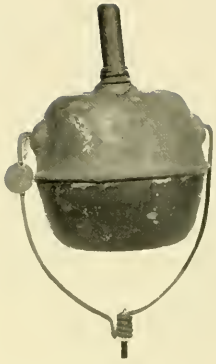


Figure 80.—Tin torch, 1888, with campaign medal attached. (Smithsonian photo 49927.)

UPRIGHT CAN-AND-SOCKET TORCH *Figure 78*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Known as a can-and-socket torch, this torch has an oil capacity of 1 pint and has burners of either brass or tin. The torch illustrated is attributed to the campaign of 1888. It has a bowl which measures 4¼ inches high and is 3½ inches in diameter.

BEAVER-HAT TORCH, 1888 *Figure 79*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Similar to the idea patented in 1872 suggesting the Horace Greeley hat, this torch imitates the beaver hat for the Harrison campaign of 1888. A slogan was devised around this hat which went as follows: "Grandfather's hat fits Ben. He wears it with dignified grace. So rally around, we'll put Uncle Ben right back in his Grandfather's place." The torch had the burner in the top of the crown and a swinging device, both of which are missing in the photograph. The crown of the hat is 4 inches high with the diameter of the hat being 4½ inches. The brim is 6½ inches front to back.

TIN TORCH, 1888 *Figure 80*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Obviously, some thoughtful parader fastened an 1888 Harrison medal to this torch. The torch bowl measures 4½ inches, both in diameter and in height.

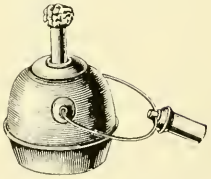


Figure 81.—Double-swing C.V. torch, circa 1889, as shown in sales catalog.

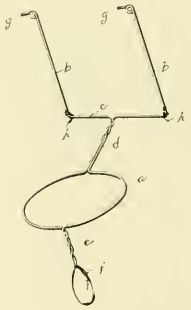


Figure 82.—Supporting frame for torch, 1896, as shown in patent 26200, issued October 20, 1896.

The burner is made of tin, and the torch is painted red on the upper half of the bowl and blue on the bottom.

DOUBLE-SWING C.V. TORCH, CIRCA 1889 *Figure 81*

No example found.

Advertised as the "C.V. Double Swing Torch" with a tin burner and an oil capacity of 1½ pints, this torch appears in a trade catalog of 1889.

Figure 83.—Sheep campaign torch illustrated on a souvenir photograph, 1896. Original photograph is in the private collection of Grace D. Williams, Akron, Ohio.

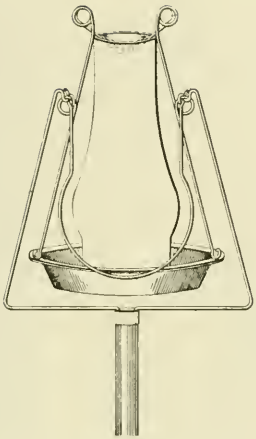


Figure 84.—Combined lantern and torch, 1897, as shown in patent 585756, issued July 6, 1897.

SUPPORTING FRAME FOR TORCH, 1896 *Figure 82*

No example found.

The supporting frame illustrated in this figure was patented in 1896 by Octavia Frasher of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The feature of this patent was that the entire frame could be made of one single piece of wire and could slide over the end of the carrying pole.

SHEEP CAMPAIGN TORCH, 1896 *Figure 83*

No example found.

This unusual torch was made to resemble a sheep and suggested the wool issue of 1896. The size of the torch was 6 by 9 inches and the burner was located in the top of the sheep's head. Application was made for a patent on this device, and a photograph of it was distributed by Schmid photographers, 716 Broadway, Buffalo, New York. The original photograph from which this illustration was made is in the private collection of Mrs. Grace D. Williams of Akron, Ohio.

COMBINED LANTERN AND TORCH, 1897 *Figure 84*

No example found.

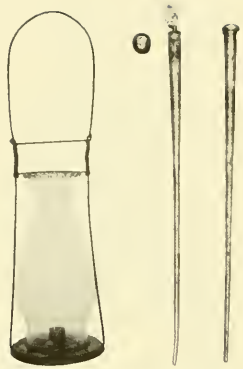
This combined lantern and torch, similar to those patented by Walter C. Beckwith in 1888, was patented by Nelson M. Hinman and John F. Hertzler of Lawrence, Kansas, in 1897.[13] The model was designed so that it could be carried either by a handle or with a pole support. Lanterns similar to these were used on the McKinley front porch during the campaign of 1896, as illustrated in figure 87.

LANTERN, 1894 *Figure 85*

USNM (Political History Collections)

This lightweight candle lantern was patented November 27, 1894, and was manufactured by R. Givens, Corpus Christi, Texas. A wire bar is forced down onto the top of the glass chimney by two springs. The lantern is very simply constructed and may have

[13] As originally submitted, the patent request was rejected on many grounds. In the first place, it interfered with earlier lanterns patented by Seys (patent 532400 issued January 8, 1895, and patent 544833 issued August 20, 1895), by Jarmin (patent 530049 issued November 27, 1894), and Beidler (patent 195744 issued October 2, 1877). Also, the patent officials could see no relation between the torch as such and the lantern and, therefore, objected to the designation "combined torch and lantern." Beidler's invention had proven that there was no invention in making the spring coils integral with the side arms or arranging them above the globe. Seys' invention had proven that there was nothing new in hanging the lantern in a common torch handle. This was also shown by a patent granted to Seavey and Lauback (patent 365706 issued June 28, 1887)



Figures 85 & 86.—Lantern, 1894, on left (Smithsonian photo P–63334). On right, combined torch and cane, 1896 (USNM 227739; Smithsonian photo P–6479).

Figure 87.—Campaign lanterns hanging from the eaves of the McKinley front porch, 1896. (*Photo courtesy of Library of Congress.*)

been used on front porches during the campaign rallies of 1896. It is 10½ inches high and has a diameter at the bottom of 4¾ inches. The handle is 6¼ inches high.

COMBINED TORCH AND CANE, 1896 — *Figure 86*

USNM 227739 (Becker Collection)

Termed by the manufacturers, The Pettibone Bros. Mfg. Co., 626 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio, as "The McKinley cane and torch," this torch is made of tin and measures 33½ inches in length. The head of the cane may be unscrewed to reveal a hidden torch wick. The stick of the cane serves as a receptacle for the oil. There is a paper motif pasted around the top of the cane under the head which bears the likenesses of McKinley and Hobart and the legend: "Protection—Sound Money." On the reverse side of the motif, which does not appear in the photograph, is the manufacturer's name and the name of the object.

TIN TORCH, 1900 — *Figure 88*

No example found.

The last lightweight parade torch on which a record has been found in the United States Patent Office, this one was patented in 1900 by William W. Climenson and William D. Winger of Honey Brook Pennsylvania.[14] One of the chief advantages of this invention was the wick which would neither leak oil nor soil the hands, thus indicating that this was a parade torch. The wick, which extended from the bottom of the bowl to the top, was enclosed in a perforated neck made of metal.

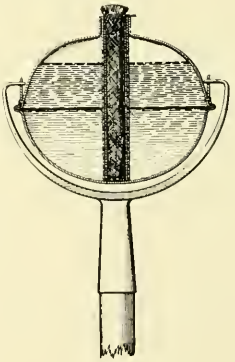


Figure 88.—Tin torch, 1900, as shown in patent 653617, issued July 10, 1900.

[14] The original claim interfered with British patent 9370, issued 1887 on chimneyless lamps; and Aldrich, patent 173893 issued April 11, 1876, on torches.

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Figure 1.—A FEW OF THE FIVE MILLION PEOPLE who saw the Democratic candidate during the campaign of 1896. Years before the electronic era, Bryan carried his personal message into the heart of America in his national campaign tours. Here, his train has stopped for a brief appearance at Wellsville, Ohio. In the background is the Ohio River. (WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, *The First Battle*, 1896, facing p. 528.)

Keith Melder

Bryan the Campaigner

In recent years, the Smithsonian Institution has acquired a rich and varied collection of political campaign objects—tokens, buttons, badges, ribbons, banners, torches, clothing, and novelties of every sort. Some of these political items are now exhibited in the Smithsonian's new Museum of History and Technology.

Growth of these political collections and preparation of plans for exhibiting them have stimulated serious research into the development of campaigning. Members of the staff and scholars from outside the Museum have begun to investigate the changing manner in which campaign objects were used and the changing patterns of their symbolism. The present study has resulted from investigation into the evolution of presidential campaigning in the late 19th century.

Preliminary evidence indicates that a major shift in the pattern of campaigning took place at the end of the century. During the post-Civil War era, political loyalties were reinforced by mass demonstrations, highly organized marching clubs, and campaign objects. Presidential candidates preferred not to engage in active campaigning.

Between 1896 and 1912 a major change occurred in the pattern of presidential politics, and since that time candidates have felt obligated to go to the people, conducting vigorous and extensive personal campaigns. By entering political contests in their own behalf, candidates have diminished the reliance of their parties upon marching groups and campaign objects as evidence of political loyalties. Although campaign objects have not disappeared from American politics, their significance has been altered by the development of personal campaigning.

It is the purpose of the present study to understand and evaluate the influence of one major candidate—William Jennings Bryan—in bringing about this significant change.

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Introduction

At the end of his first dramatic struggle for the Presidency, William Jennings Bryan wrote: "The campaign of 1896 was a remarkable one whether we measure it by the magnitude of the issues involved or by the depth of interest aroused."[1] It also produced one of the most significant changes in presidential campaigning to occur during the 19th century. Like the Harrison-Tyler contest of 1840, which involved a major departure from previous, less exciting and "popular" efforts, the 1896 contest represented an important stage in the evolution of presidential campaign techniques. In it the candidate himself

[1] William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle. The Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago, 1896), p. 11. The present paper has grown out of research into the background and the use of presidential campaign objects in the collections of the Museum of History and Technology. I am most grateful for suggestions made by Professor Paolo E. Coletta, of the United States Naval Academy. Professor Coletta generously permitted me to read the unpublished manuscript of his political biography of Bryan.

emerged as the principal participant, diminishing the importance of political gadgets, parades, and celebrations, and preparing the way for the now familiar 20th-century presidential contests.

At a time when candidates were not expected to show any strong desire for the high office, Bryan set out on an unprecedented national tour. With limited support from his divided party, and with very meager finances at his disposal, Bryan strove almost single-handedly in an intensely personal effort to dramatize himself and his issue. To defeat Bryan's unusual tactics, William McKinley, Bryan's first opponent, could not avoid participating actively in the contest, although he did not tour the country. Bryan's repetition of his personal campaigning in 1900 and in 1908 solidified the pattern and induced Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft to conduct intensive tours of their own. By 1912, when he was no longer in the presidential race, Bryan's influence had, to a considerable degree, produced a significant change in the pattern of presidential office seeking. No longer could the candidate sit idly by, waiting for the returns to come in. Since Bryan's time, custom has dictated that the candidate lead the contest in his own behalf. By focusing public attention upon himself, Bryan had prepared the way for the present era, in which radio and television have become the natural means of exalting presidential aspirants.

It may be argued that Bryan's political apprenticeship was divided into two periods. During the first period, which ended after the election of 1890, he acquired his campaign style. Drawing upon his experience in the local Democratic politics of Jacksonville, Illinois, he perfected his own style of campaigning, and by November of 1890, at the age of 30, he had established the pattern which would carry him through 20 years of active politics and three presidential contests. Basing his campaigns on a dedication to democratic principles, influenced by evangelical revivalism, and nourished upon the traditional techniques of oratory he had learned so well, Bryan was ready to carry his message to the nation. During the second period of his political apprenticeship, which lasted from his entrance into the House of Representatives in 1891 until after the election of 1894, Bryan solidified and perfected his already familiar power, endeavored to establish a national reputation, and gained important experience in the arts of political organizing. During this period, he operated in several different arenas: the House of Representatives, Nebraska politics, and the nation as a whole.[2]

For more than a dozen years before the campaign of 1896, Bryan's own particular style of politics had been ripening. The 1880's, when Bryan served his political apprenticeship, were a golden age of political enthusiasm. Party loyalty and fervor were maintained through an immense network of organizations, political views were circulated by means of gadgets with campaign slogans, group activities; and the American scene was enlivened during election years by extraordinary celebrations, parades, demonstrations, and mammoth feasts of victuals and oratory. The noise, the mass behavior, and the novelties were colorful and exciting, and they contributed to political communication in a pre-electronic era, but they meant very little in terms of providing a meaningful choice to the electorate. The hullabaloo of politics in the 1880's tended to avoid or obscure real issues by creating and reinforcing public excitement with procedures and gadgetry.

Bryan's campaign techniques moved away from the preoccupation with gadgets and organizations, toward a more personal relationship between the candidate and the electorate. Replacing with his own effective rhetoric the varied stimuli offered by the mechanical campaign contrivances available during the 1880's, Bryan depended upon his voice, his message, and his own personal dynamism for his influence over the public. In a limited sense, he was the first "modern" presidential candidate, emphasizing as he did the need

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[2] Only recently have scholars begun to give serious attention to Bryan's career, his accomplishments, and his contributions to American politics. PAXTON HIBBEN's biography of Bryan, *The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan* (New York, 1929), is a debunking volume, accepting whatever evidence tended to diminish the Commoner's stature. As recently as 1948, Professor RICHARD HOFSTADTER, in *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Vintage, 1955), p. 205, dismissed Bryan as a confused and stupid man, a mirror of the lowest level of the popular intelligence. "He [Bryan] closed his career in much the same role as he had begun it in 1896: a provincial politician following a provincial populace in provincial prejudices." Bryan's historical reputation is beginning to shift, however, as shown by the publication of PAUL W. GLAD's recent volume, *The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896–1912* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1960), a sensitive and sympathetic interpretation of Bryan as a son of the Middle Border. The series of carefully documented articles on Bryan's career by Professor Paolo E. Coletta, appearing since 1949, bears promise of a serious definitive biography to come.

for a candidate to have a strong personal "image," and asserting the primary role of the presidential candidate as a party leader.[3] Matthew Josephson caught Bryan's impact upon presidential campaigning when he wrote:

> With his sheer youthful strength and tireless voice, Bryan rivaled the effect of the modern radio broadcasts. . . . It was a circus-like performance, it was also unprecedented, since tradition held that the candidate for the highest office in the land must dissemble his wish for that honor, and appear not to seek the office overtly.[4]

Like most politicians, he represented a certain combination of attitudes which developed out of his own upbringing and his experiences as a young adult. Professor Paul Glad has described the general framework of attitudes which Bryan shared, to some extent, with other citizens of his time and place:

> The Commoner's progressivism was founded not on political contrivances or on economic panaceas; it was founded on the faith that was his heritage as a son of the Middle Border. His appeal to the hearts of his countrymen, his doctrine of love, his emphasis on sacrifice as the measure of greatness, his belief in majority rule, his devotion to the common man, his conception of good and evil, his revivalistic approach to social and economic problems, his confidence in God's purpose as he understood it—all these are traceable to a mentality that found the values of an agrarian environment completely satisfying.[5]

Bryan embodied what Ralph Gabriel has called the American Democratic Faith, consisting of a belief in the fundamental law, in the free and responsible individual, and in the Mission of America.[6] His commitment to democracy and the unswerving belief which he held in the essential rightness of popular rule were genuine and remained with him until the end of his life, forming both a strength and a major weakness in his capacity for political leadership.

It is the intention of this paper to explore the background of Bryan's campaign techniques, in order to arrive at certain conclusions concerning his own contributions to the practices of campaigning, and to suggest the importance of his campaign techniques for the candidate himself.[7]

Shaping the Image

FAMILY BACKGROUND

William Jennings Bryan owed a large measure of his political interest to his father, for it was from Silas Bryan that he inherited his party affiliations and many of his convictions. Silas, a Jacksonian Democrat of ancient lineage and unflinching devotion, had been an Illinois politician of rather modest accomplishments, a state senator and a judge during William's boyhood. Although William recalled his father's intense piety and his stern discipline, he underestimated the elder Bryan's political influence on himself. Legend has it that the boy accompanied his father as the latter stumped for Congress in 1872; other legends put the boy in his father's courtroom, listening to the workings of justice; but for the most part William remembered having little direct contact with his father's political affairs.[8] Nevertheless, the young man chose a career in politics instead of one in religion, his other great interest, although there is little evidence to show that William was influenced directly by his father's campaign techniques.[9]

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[3] More than half a century earlier, William Henry Harrison had acquired an "image" during the riotous Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign, but Harrison was not in any true sense a party leader, nor did he rely entirely upon a personal campaign to achieve his election. Robert G. Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957), provides a lively account of the Harrison-Tyler campaign of 1840.

[4] Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865-1896* (New York, 1938), p. 688.

[5] Glad, op. cit. (footnote 2), p. 177.

[6] Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1956), ch. 2.

[7] Modern scholars have given little attention to the evolution and significance of Bryan's campaign techniques; however, his own contemporaries were aware of his significance. William Allen White (*The Autobiography of William Allen White*, New York, 1946, p. 294) recalled that as a conservative if somewhat brash young newspaper editor in Kansas, he feared Bryan's unusual appeal to the masses: "To me, he was an incarnation of demagogy, the apotheosis of riot, destruction, and carnage." Mark Hanna, McKinley's shrewd and effective campaign director, recognized in 1896 Bryan's extraordinary "personal appeal to the American people . . . . In order to save the situation enormous exertions would be required, as well as a plan of campaign for which there was as little precedent as there was for the situation itself." See Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work* (New York, 1912), pp. 209–210, 212.

[8] Hibben, op. cit. (footnote 2), pp. 46–47.

[9] William Jennings and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Chicago, 1925), ch. 1; hereafter cited as *Memoirs*. See also Paolo E. Coletta, "Silas Bryan of Salem," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (March 1949), vol. 42, pp. 57–79. See also the letter from S. S. Ruffner, Marksville, Louisiana, September 12, 1896, to Bryan (in Bryan papers Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as Bryan papers). Ruffner recalled knowing Silas Bryan as a child

His belief in political democracy was nurtured in the personal relations of small-town life in southern Illinois; his firm belief in the virtue of the Democratic Party was inherited from his father. Bryan brought to his political vocation a dedicated application of the evangelical Protestant Christianity common to 19th-century rural America. For Bryan the applications of Christianity were far more important than the doctrine; thus, he was never a sectarian.[10] He spoke feelingly of the relations between public opinion, politics, and morality:

> The great questions of state are, after all, simple in their last analysis. Every political question is first a great economic question, and every great economic question is in reality a great moral question. Questions are not settled until the right and wrong of the questions are determined. Questions are not settled by discussion of the details; they are not settled until the people grasp the fundamental principles, and when these principles are fully comprehended, then the people settle the question and they settle it for a generation.[11]

Politics thus aimed at bringing morality into public affairs, informing the people of the true moral issues in any controversy. Early in his career, Bryan saw the temperance problem as a clear example of this type of moral controversy, but the problem's solution did not lie in legislation, for "law is but the crystallization of public opinion." Reform had to come through a moral revolution, a great temperance revival among the youth of the nation, converting individuals to the principles of righteousness.[12]

Bryan viewed politics as a pursuit very much akin to evangelical Christianity, and he compared the good politician to the revivalist preacher. Evangelical techniques were among the principal ingredients of the Commoner's enthusiastic campaigns: he demanded conversion, he fought the "enemy," he insisted upon the righteousness of his cause.[13]

Again the impact of Bryan's childhood experience on his campaigning is evident. At a time when the American Middle West was relatively saturated with piety and religious revivals were accepted as common occurrences, young Bryan was subjected to an uncommonly strong religious upbringing. In addition to being a convinced Democrat, father Silas was a devoted Baptist—so devoted that he prayed three times a day and maintained a family altar. William was expected to memorize and discuss Biblical passages, he was required to carry out his religious obligations faithfully, and through his family he became acquainted with the local clergymen who came to visit and take dinner with the Bryans.[14] Undoubtedly, he heard conversations about the state of local religious excitement, the current "awakenings," so it is little wonder that the boy joined a church as the result of a religious revival. It is significant that Bryan knew from a personal conversion experience the effectiveness and the techniques of religious revivals.[15] To the end of his life he remained a preacher in politics, an exhorter of political righteousness.

One other factor in Bryan's background appears to have influenced his campaigning. Throughout his life he continued to revere his father, emulating the elder Bryan's political career, striving for quick and impressive success, and, in time, living like a country gentleman, as his father had done. Part of the motivation for his political enthusiasm undoubtedly lay in his desire for approval, his need to be revered and respected as his father had been.[16] Long after he had left Illinois, Bryan continued to send newspaper accounts of his political success to many of his youthful

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and attending a country school taught by the elder Bryan, whom he remembered as being "kind and impartial, but . . . very strict & woe to the boy or girl big or little who with malice aforethought broke one of his rules." Although he was generally admired and esteemed in the town, Silas was considered a little peculiar because of his philosophical bent.

[10] Glad, op. cit. (footnote 2), pp. 27–30. Professor Glad's interpretations have added much to the present analysis of Bryan's intellectual background.

[11] From a speech made in the campaign of 1896 to the ladies of Minneapolis. See Bryan, *The First Battle* (Chicago, 1896), p. 548.

[12] Bryan papers, "Temperance Address" (MS, n.d.). Evidence indicates that this speech was given early in Bryan's career, while he was a young lawyer at Jacksonville, Illinois.

[13] These evangelical attitudes are evident in Bryan's political speeches, while his chautauqua and inspirational addresses are characterized by other evangelical elements—love, compassion, optimism, sentiment. Paxton Hibben charges that, although he claimed always to be righteous and consistent, Bryan did not himself live up to these responsibilities.

[14] Bryan, *Memoirs*, pp. 27–28.

[15] Ibid., pp. 11, 44, 50–51.

[16] Ibid., p. 24, Bryan wrote, "I shall be happy if my children feel toward me in mature life as I feel toward my father; if they revere my name as I revere my father's name and feel as deeply indebted to me for whatever there is in me of good." Silas Bryan's death was front-page news in the Salem *Marion County Herald* of April 30, 1880, as the headlines read: "Marion County's Calamity. One of Her Noblest Citizens and Greatest Benefactors Gone."

acquaintances, apparently seeking their praise.[17] He was willing to go "to the people," regardless of the inconvenience to himself, and he could not stay away from the public platform, whether he appeared in a political, an editorial, or an inspirational role, on the chautauqua circuit. All these factors suggest that in his relationship to his audiences, Bryan gained certain nonpolitical rewards which were deeply satisfying to him.[18]

The attitudes which Bryan accumulated during the first 15 years of his life—his democratic faith, his religious enthusiasm and moralism, his interest in politics, and his strong desire for personal recognition—all contributed to the development of his campaign style. Yet he did not run for any office until 1890; his background did not come to fruition until he had served a political apprenticeship of almost 15 years, from 1875 until his first congressional campaign in 1890.

EDUCATION

Although he did not then realize it, one of young William Bryan's first steps toward a political career came with his departure from home for six years of secondary and collegiate education at Jacksonville, Illinois. Bryan's college years included certain collegiate activities which had a particular bearing upon his campaign techniques.[19] Bryan apparently gained some direct political experience at Illinois College; an anonymous classmate wrote:

> His college life has been one continuous endeavor to secure place and power . . . . He will talk and gesticulate concerning character in a forcible manner. His conscientious principles (we suppose) have impelled him to blarney the boys on different occasions in order to secure their votes.[20]

His principal extracurricular activity, public speaking, was an ideal preparation for a lifetime of addressing the public. "I felt the lure of prizes from the start," he remembered, "and always took part in every contest for which I was eligible." [21] Young Bryan joined the Sigma Phi Literary Society as soon as he was eligible, and participated in all of the Society's declamations, its essay contests, orations, and debates. He believed debating to be the most useful form of speaking activity because it made the greatest demands upon the speaker's talents, his clarity, his quickness of thought, and his analytical capacities. Not the least positive quality of debating was its impact on the audience:

> The debate is superior also because it is the form of public speaking that wins the largest victories and gives the greatest renown. It gives the most conclusive proof . . . of earnestness in its preparation, and therefore is most effective in its impression upon an audience.[22]

Throughout his life he maintained an affection for the debate, using the dialogue technique of argument whenever possible. At college Bryan took the usual elocution courses, with their training in the classic techniques of gesturing and the traditional platform mannerisms. Here, too, he began learning to speak in the great, round, rhythmic periods, whose climaxes thrilled his audiences in later years. His voice, almost unrivaled in its impact upon his listeners, also showed its first signs of power during the college years. In 1880, during his junior year, Bryan won the college oratorical contest, entitling him to take part in the intercollegiate oratorical competition. He took second prize in this contest—one of many second prizes for Bryan. His academic record at Illinois College was adequate, but by no means brilliant or impressive. In the field of public speaking, however, he had received a basic education, upon which he would build for the remainder of his life.[23]

The next step in the budding politician's life was almost certain; in the fall of 1881 William Jennings Bryan enrolled in the Union College of Law at Chicago. As in college, his academic record was not outstanding, but he continued his public speaking. He benefited substantially from the friendships and

[17] Bryan received many letters, now in the Bryan papers, in response to clippings of his speeches or announcements of his achievements which he had sent to old friends in Illinois. They are generally enthusiastic and full of praise.

[18] The desire for esteem seems in general to be unusually well developed among politicians, and it is no denigration of Bryan's motives to point this out. Rather, it is offered as a partial explanation of the Commoner's dedication to personal political campaigning. This very fundamental human force seems to be essential to the success of any democratic political system.

[19] Paolo E. Coletta, "The Youth of William Jennings Bryan," *Nebraska History* (1950), vol. 31, pp. 1–24; George R. Poage, "The College Career of William Jennings Bryan," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (September 1928), vol. 15, pp. 165–182; Bryan, *Memoirs*, ch. 2.

[20] Hibben, op. cit. (footnote 2), p. 87.

[21] Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 85.

[22] Ibid., p. 60.

[23] Ibid., ch. 4. For a careful critical account of Bryan as a public speaker, see Myron G. Phillips, "William Jennings Bryan" (pp. 891–918 in vol. 2 of *History and Criticism of American Public Address*, edit. William N. Brigance: New York, 1943).

personal contacts of that period and maintained many of those relationships for years afterward.[24] During his years at law school, Bryan remained a spectator of the political scene, continuing an interest which had been evident since 1876, when, as a student in Whipple Academy, he had traveled to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis. It would be difficult to estimate the nature of Bryan's political feelings during these years, since he left no record. Like many citizens, his partisanship came by inheritance; he was certainly a loyal Democrat, but it seems doubtful that he had strong feelings about major political issues, or that he was aware of the significant transformations taking place in American society, and the political consequences of these changes.

LAW PRACTICE

Fresh from his course of law, young lawyer Bryan returned in 1883 to Jacksonville to begin his practice. He was hopeful that his established friendships in the college town would aid in the struggle to set up a flourishing practice, but he experienced disappointment as he "awaited the rush of clients" and received no more than a trickle of business.[25] For six months Bryan could not make ends meet, but, after a year of waiting, enough business came to him so that he could marry his sweetheart, Mary Baird. The practice of law could not have seemed particularly exciting, however; Bryan was involved in the minutiae of legal work—bill collecting, handling real estate, acting as a financial agent, and other minor business.[26]

Bryan achieved little more success in politics than he did in law during the Jacksonville years. Expecting perhaps to receive quick recognition from the local Democracy, as his father had done, Bryan was soon disappointed. As a young man, starting out in an already established party organization, he could not expect immediate rewards. The political and community affairs of a small town opened up ample opportunities for a young lawyer to engage in public speaking, however, and Bryan recorded his own experience:

> While I was practicing I had the usual experience of young lawyers in being called upon to speak on many different occasions. The lawyer has the advantage over all others in such matters. He is the natural spokesman of those of his school of thought and he is called upon more at banquets than those of other professions, because in the course of business he has to deal with a greater variety of subjects.[27]

It is probable that few other young lawyers in Jacksonville were quite as willing, even eager, to address the crowds as was William Jennings Bryan. Many of his speeches were nonpolitical. He was an early and dedicated supporter of the Y.M.C.A., and he often spoke to groups of young men on religious and moral subjects. He won little fame with such activities, but he gained invaluable experience. Indeed, Bryan quickly became a master inspirational, semi-religious public speaker, and in later years earned a substantial portion of his income on the chautauqua and lyceum circuits. His professional speaking to small-town and rural audiences, usually in the Midwest, had the strengths and suffered the limitations of the genre. Dealing with subjects and speaking in rhetoric which his audiences knew well, he inspired tremendous confidence and loyalty among his listeners. But his speeches were necessarily sermonic, dealing too often with vague generalizations and great abstractions.[28] Nevertheless, these nonpolitical speaking experiences contributed substantially to Bryan's style of political oratory.

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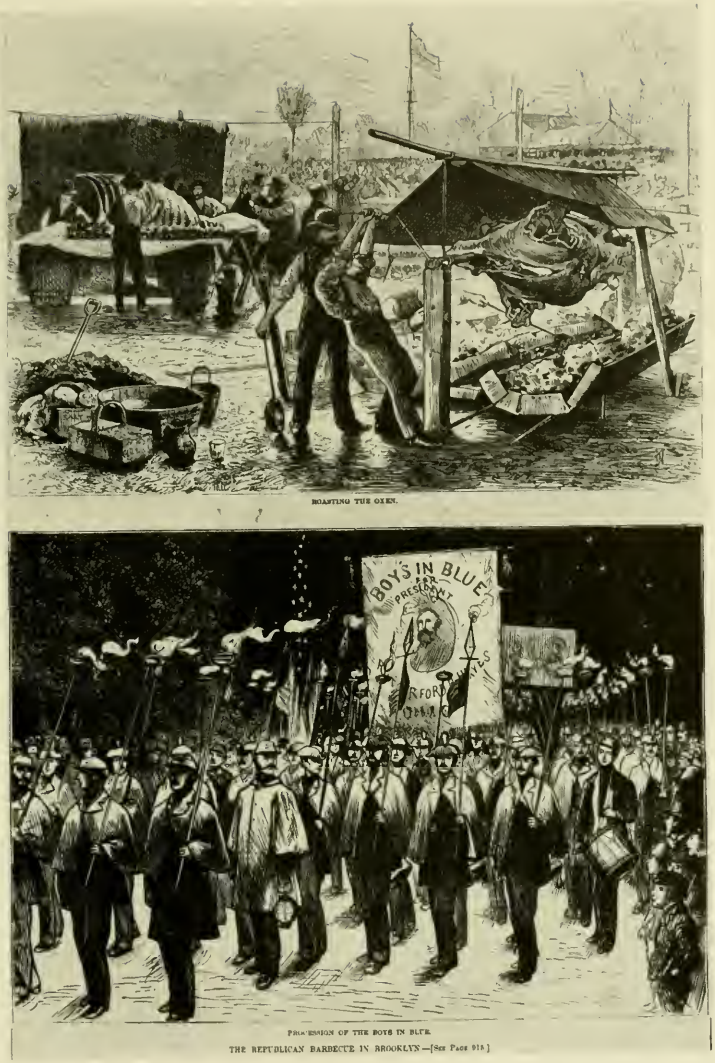
[24] The Bryan papers contain many letters from his classmates and friends at law school. See also, HIBBEN, op. cit. (footnote 2), ch. 9, for an account of Bryan's years in law school.

[25] BRYAN, *Memoirs*, p. 63.

[26] Bryan's correspondence with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1887 is suggestive of the young man's frustration in Jacksonville. He appealed to the railroad that its route be changed to pass through Jacksonville, apparently hoping for more legal work as a result of the additional railroad connection. See Bryan papers, T. J. Potter, first vice president of the C. B. and Q. Railroad, to Bryan, Feb. 15, 1887.

[27] BRYAN, *Memoirs*, p. 68.

[28] An interesting account of this sort of oratory appears in an unidentified clipping dated July 6, 1893, in the Bryan papers. Bryan presented a patriotic and inspirational Independence Day address to the multitudes at Greenville, Illinois. Following Dr. Frank Swallow, the "Kansas Cyclone . . . a striking figure full of fire and eloquence . . . greeted with cheers and laughter from start to finish," and a "beautiful overture entitled 'Recollections of the War'" by the Head Consul Band, Mr. Bryan spoke. "The Hon. Wm. J. Bryan, Congressman from Lincoln, Nebraska, was then introduced. He was born in Marion County, and the fact that he was a son of Egypt, in addition to the further fact that he is just now filling the eyes of the Nation with his distinguished personality, caused the crowd to go wild in the enthusiasm of its reception. It was a magnificent audience that he faced and it was no inconsiderable task to fill the great expectations that the heralding of his great name had caused; but Mr. Bryan met in full measure every requirement of the hour. He paid tribute to the Order of Modern Woodmen, and to the cause of fraternity. He made a speech appropriate to the day celebrated. He eulogized America's great statesmen and dwelt in eloquent



ROASTING THE OXEN.

PROCESSION OF THE BOYS IN BLUE.

THE REPUBLICAN BARBECUE IN BROOKLYN.—[See Page 918.]

Figure 2.—Presidential campaigning between the Civil War and 1900 was characterized by widespread organizations and innumerable mass demonstrations, designed to maintain party fervor and loyalty. The barbecue and torchlight parade illustrated here occurred in Brooklyn, New York, near the end of the presidential contest of 1876. These were quite typical of political gatherings during this era. (*Harper's Weekly*, November 11, 1876, p. 916.)

Jacksonville in the 1880's mirrored the concentration of American politics on organizations and gadgetry. Although the town was predominantly Republican, a lively rivalry existed between the organizations of both parties. There was little fundamental difference between Republicans and Democrats, but competition was keen on superficial matters. Both parties achieved a high level of organization during election campaigns, with ward clubs, political marching societies, brass bands, and ladies' political clubs. Within the parties, each ward tried to outdo the others in the skill of its marching club, the beauty and color of its uniforms, the color and profusion of its political decorations, and the enthusiasm of its demonstrations. Both parties held elaborate ceremonies, as their ladies presented handmade political banners to the local marching clubs. During the presidential contest of 1884, the Ladies' Republican Club of Jacksonville held an elaborate ceremony to present two "elegant and handsome" banners to the "Plumed Knights" marching society.[29] Some time later in the political season, the home of one of the leading Democratic ladies was elaborately decorated with flowers and lights for the presentation of a magnificent banner to the first ward Democratic Club. Speeches were given, fireworks displayed, and the ladies expressed their sympathies for the great cause. Numerous other presentations, ceremonies, and political demonstrations occurred during the campaign.[30]

Figure 3.—A VIGOROUS SPEAKER, Bryan emphasizes a point during one of his campaign tours during the 1890's. The town is probably somewhere in Nebraska. (*Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*)

William Jennings Bryan served his political apprenticeship in this active, competitive environment. A leading member of the liveliest Democratic club in Jacksonville, that of the fourth ward, Bryan marched in party parades, attended mass meetings, and spoke briefly during one Democratic "jollification."[31] During the campaign of 1884, he served as a secondary speaker for the county Democratic Committee, pairing off with other Democrats to tour the country hamlets—Buckhorn, Chapin, Hartland School House, Franklin, and other communities.[32] At Concord he spoke to a good crowd, including 60 members of the

words upon the power of the people. He said that the hope of the Nation was not in the strength of its army and navy but in the happy homes of the great middle class. He pointed out the dangers which were set like thorns along the pathway of a Nation. He said that it must not be forgotten that eternal vigilance was the price of liberty; that we must have economy in the administration of public affairs; that love of country must be above love of self. He said that thousands of miniature liberty bells should swing from the trees . . . in the land where this great day was celebrated. He instructed and entertained his audience. He received wrapt attention and his handsome face lit up with the fire of enthusiasm and patriotism shone out upon that immense audience in all the grandeur of a great Patrick Henry, or a Clay or a Webster. After Mr. Bryan's address, Miss Poppleton, of Mulberry Grove, rendered in an excellent manner a very pleasing recitation entitled 'The Matilda Bird,' or 'The Secrets of Woodcraft' which brought down the crowd." A balloon ascension and parachute jump and two ball games finished the day. According to the account, "The merry-go-round, dancing platform, sideshows and eating stands furnished entertainment for the crowd and were kept busy." Bryan probably spoke at hundreds of similar gatherings.

[29] Jacksonville *Daily Journal*, October 3, 1884.

[30] Ibid., October 15, 1884; Jacksonville *Illinois Daily Courier*, October 15, 1884. For other descriptions of political rallies, see the *Daily Journal*, October 17, and the *Daily Courier*, October 18 and 29, 1884.

[31] Jacksonville *Illinois Daily Courier*, September 13 and October 23, 1884.

[32] Ibid., September 30 and October 22, 1884.

Democratic marching club.[33] Bryan recalled speaking at a picturesque meeting at a country schoolhouse near Jacksonville, where, as the speaker of the evening, he was invited to partake of a Democratic flask of whiskey. Although he refused the drink, and although he was introduced as "Mr. Obrien," he remembered the occasion as a success.[34] Congressman John W. Springer remembered "double teaming" with Bryan in campaigns during the Illinois years.[35] This period was an important segment of the young Democrat's political apprenticeship, giving him experience with certain fundamentals of grassroots politics, training him in techniques which he retained, sometimes to his own disadvantage, throughout his life. The county campaigns were organized by school district, and diligent campaigners went from school district to school district, contacting the voters, seeing that all Democrats were brought to the polls.[36] As he worked in the county politics of rural Illinois, Bryan learned that in some manner politics had to be a personal vocation, that "Mr. Obrien" had to be able to refuse a generously offered drink of whiskey, yet still retain the attention and the affection of his listeners. In the rural schoolhouses, Bryan discovered the need to create a personal relationship between the candidate and his audience, and he became committed to the democratic notion of appealing directly to the people.

Illinois politics brought little renown and few rewards to William Jennings Bryan. Although he served the Democratic organization faithfully, he was never accorded more than a secondary role in local politics. In his quest for Federal patronage appointments, the young man was largely rebuffed.[37] After four years in Jacksonville, he was still a struggling country lawyer and petty politician; however, four years after leaving Jacksonville, Bryan was a member of Congress, and a major political figure. Undoubtedly, the lessons of political campaigning which he learned in Illinois contributed to his later techniques as a congressional and presidential campaigner.

[33] Ibid., September 18, 1884.

[34] Bryan. *The First Battle*, pp. 302–303. The *Daily Journal* (Jacksonville) recorded very few speeches by Bryan in the campaign of 1884, but this may be partially accounted for by the paper's Republican leanings. See the *Daily Journal*, July 6, 1884, for an account of Bryan's Fourth-of-July oration.

[35] Bryan papers, letter from John W. Springer to Bryan, August 24, 1888; Jacksonville *Daily Journal*, August 30, 1884.

[36] Bryan papers, letter from Millard F. Dunlap, Jacksonville, Illinois, to Bryan, August 14, 1888, describing the techniques of Dan Pierson, a local Democrat.

[37] Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 73.

NEBRASKA POLITICS

In the summer of 1887 Bryan moved from Jacksonville, his home for more than a decade, to Lincoln, Nebraska. The prospects for immediate success must have seemed far more promising in this growing western community than they were in Jacksonville. One of Bryan's law-school classmates, Adolphus Talbot, practiced law in Lincoln, and numerous residents from Jacksonville and Morgan County had moved to southeastern Nebraska during the 1880's.[38] In the spring of 1887, Bryan heard from an acquaintance at Lincoln who was attempting to sell stock in a newly incorporated National Bank; "Lincoln is a live city," his friend wrote.[39] So, in the summer of 1887 Bryan visited Lincoln, was favorably impressed, and in the early fall of the year he moved to Lincoln, leaving his family in Jacksonville until spring, when a new house could be finished in the Nebraska city.[40]

Lincoln must have seemed far more exciting politically than Jacksonville. The state of Nebraska was beset by growing pains which were somewhat typical of the problems facing other western states. Major interest groups were already battling for political supremacy; the powerful railroads, which had dominated the state for years, and had support from both Republicans and Democrats, were beginning to meet serious opposition from agricultural interests.[41] Polit-

[38] Jacksonville *Daily Journal*, September 11 and 21, 1884.

[39] Bryan papers, letter from George G. Waite, Lincoln, Nebraska, to Bryan, March 29, 1887.

[40] For details on Bryan's career in Lincoln, see Paolo E. Coletta, "William Jennings Bryan's First Nebraska Years," *Nebraska History* (March 1952), vol. 33, pp. 71–94. Two other important American political figures arrived in Nebraska at about the time Bryan did. George Norris and Charles G. Dawes, both young lawyers, moved from Ohio to the West, in search of new opportunities.

[41] For the influence of railroads in politics and the opposition of the farmers to the railroads, see John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the Peoples' Party* (University of Minnesota: Minneapolis, 1931), pp. 60–74. (Reprinted, University of Nebraska Press: Lincoln, 1961.) Charles G. Dawes, *A Journal of the McKinley Years* (Lakeside Press: Chicago, 1950), pp. 12–13, summarizes very succinctly the problem of railroad rates. James H. Kyner, in a picturesque reminiscence of his career as a railroad contractor, *End of Track* (told to Hawthorne Daniel, originally published in 1937, reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press: 1960), p. 94, recalled that he served as a representative of the railroad interests in the Nebraska legislature: "I took my seat in 1881, which was a period of great railroad activity, and legislation adverse to the railroads was forever being proposed. During my four years in the legislature I opposed all this, with

ical control of the state rested with the Republican Party; and the Democrats were divided into two major factions, neither having much vitality, concerned with little more than the distribution of Federal patronage. No established party spoke for the great body of citizens, or represented the undercurrent of agricultural discontent.

To the young lawyer from Illinois, just entering partnership with Adolphus Talbot late in the year 1887, the explosive potentialities of Nebraska politics may not have been evident. Yet great opportunities for political leadership existed among the discontented country folk and younger members of the Democratic Party who were unrecognized and dissatisfied by the old party organization.[42] Carrying a letter of introduction to J. Sterling Morton, the "Sage of Arbor Lodge" and the most eminent Nebraska Democrat, Bryan quickly joined the Morton faction of the party. Within six months of his arrival in Nebraska, he was corresponding with state Democrats and discussing national issues such as the tariff. There is evidence that the newcomer was already in touch with Democrats who were dissatisfied with the old state machine.[43] With both presidential and congressional elections in the offing 1888 was a promising year, and Bryan was ready to test his political skills in the new environment.

The Nebraska campaign of 1888 followed a familiar pattern. Both parties set out to generate public interest and enthusiasm through the organization of local clubs, political marching societies with brass bands, and even women's political clubs.[44] In the larger communities, such as Omaha, each ward had its various organizations, its leaders and its orators, but outside of the cities, on the thinly settled prairies, party organization was not so easy a task. Most of the prairie hamlets were too tiny to support permanent political organizations, and many of them did not have populations large enough even to man temporary Democratic or Republican clubs. For the rural people, isolated on their farms and kept at home by the unceasing burden of agricultural toil, there was virtually no opportunity for direct participation in political affairs. Nebraska's problems were typical of 19th-century American politics—the need to develop the political machinery of a mass democracy under the conditions of a scattered, decentralized population.

Nebraska's political parties used two major techniques in mobilizing their supporters: in one form of party gathering they attempted to bring large groups of the rural population together at some central point; or, if this could not be done, the parties sent orators "to the people" in their prairie hamlets, drumming up enthusiasm and interest for candidates and party programs. Many "grand demonstrations," "enthusiastic rallies," and "pole raising" ceremonies took place in Nebraska during the summer of 1888. Like other social and cultural events on the prairies—camp meetings, chautauquas, and county fairs—these gatherings offered to farm families who could spare the time and expense a brief escape from their work, an interlude of excitement and novelty in an otherwise monotonous life. Similarly, for town dwellers who could more readily take part in these affairs, politics offered drama and variety in the everyday round of activities. Political rallies were often scheduled to take place in connection with some other public occasion—a county fair, for example, or simply a small-town Saturday, when the streets were crowded with shoppers and loungers. Sometimes, local party organizations arranged for special trains, hired at reduced rates, to bring large groups of the party faithful to swell attendance at their rallies. Typical of this sort of gathering was "the most enthusiastic demonstration of the season in northwestern Nebraska," at the town of Gordon, far out in the sparsely settled prairies:

> The Gordon democrats have been arranging for the past week or more for a glorious blow-out and ratification of the nomination of Cleveland and Thurman, and they are surely having it. A special train from the west brought in large delegations from Rushville, Chadron, and Hay Springs to join in the celebration. The town is elaborately decorated with flags and bandanas. The speakers' stand, located at the intersection of the two principal streets, is surrounded by a dense crowd of eager listeners.[45]

more than a little success. Not one adverse act was passed while I was there."

[42] Hicks, op. cit. (footnote 41), chs. 3–6; Coletta, op. cit. (footnote 40); Robert V. Supple, "The Political Rise of William Jennings Bryan from 1888 to the Nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic Party in 1896" (doctoral dissertation, New York University, New York: 1951).

[43] Bryan papers, letter from J. L. McDonough, Ord, Nebraska, to Bryan, March 3, 1888.

[44] Several Nebraska cities had Frances Cleveland Clubs, composed of young single women, who wore special clothing and sashes, marched in parades, and cheered at Democratic rallies. See, for example, Omaha *Daily Herald*, September 21, 1888.

[45] Ibid., July 15, 1888.

Figure 4.—Political campaigns offered farmers and small-town dwellers a brief period of excitement. The hats of his Nebraska audience, here, suggest the interest which the young orator aroused among the common people. (*Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*)

Other political celebrations, such as that held at Minden in early October, were on a more modest scale, but even here the occasion was described as "a big democratic rally and torchlight procession, headed by a band and enthusiastic crowd on the streets." [46]

Much of the political work was carried on by devoted party laborers and candidates who went out to the people, meeting with them in crossroads schoolhouses or tiny villages, without the excitement of banners and bands and parades. One Democratic candidate for the state legislature from Lancaster County spent so much time stumping the countryside that he was hardly known in Lincoln, the county seat.[47] These traveling speakers were, to a considerable degree, the forgotten heroes of rural politics. Many of them hoped for rewards—patronage appointments or help in obtaining local elective offices, but there were never enough rewards to satisfy all the party faithful. While some party men served simply out of loyalty, the recruitment of effective speakers was an endless problem for the party leaders, particularly in the Nebraska Democracy, since the party had been perpetually out of office.

This was the setting of William Jennings Bryan's first political triumphs and his rapid rise to political prominence. Bryan quickly made known his interest in campaigning, and he entered at once into the battle. Once enrolled, his particular combination of talents—as an entertainer, a debater and exhorter, a phrasemaker skilled in the popular idiom, and an inspirational speaker of great ability—coupled with his tremendous physical endurance, made him one of the indispensable stars in the Nebraska Democratic galaxy. The years of training in local politics at Jacksonville

[46] Ibid., October 4, 1888.
[47] Ibid., October 26, 1888.

had prepared Bryan for this opportunity, and he was quick to grasp it.

At first, he seems chiefly to have been a supporting speaker, an entertainer, rather than a leading Democratic orator. During a lull in the Democratic State Convention at Omaha, Bryan filled in when other possible speakers were occupied. In a "spirited address," he predicted his own course in the ensuing campaign:

> He thought if the democrats went out to the farmers and the people who live in Nebraska and showed them the iniquity of the tariff system, they would rally around the cause which their noble leader, Grover Cleveland, had championed.[48]

Again, at the grand Democratic rally and pole-raising ceremony at Weeping Water, Bryan, the "chosen spokesman" of Lincoln, spoke only after the more prominent Democrats were exhausted. Late in the evening, the opportunity came: "At this juncture the crowd being unwilling to disperse W. J. Bryan of Lincoln was introduced and so captivated his hearers that they hung upon his words for over an hour, and when the speaker wished to stop they would not have it so, but begged him to go on." [49] At Columbus, on July 20, he was the "speaker of the evening," delivering a "masterly address," a "clear and forceful" tariff argument, illustrated "by apt stories and bright quotations," to a large audience of citizens and Democrats.[50] Appearing at Fremont in August, Bryan spoke "without any apparent effort . . . presenting the tariff question in a straightforward and honest manner with frequent humorous illustrations . . . ." [51]

By September, he was devoting his full time and all his bountiful energy to the campaign, carrying the message of tariff reform to large rallies and tiny hamlets. As his reputation spread, Bryan received invitations to speak throughout the state. A resident of the small town of Sutton pleaded with him to speak at that town:

> *The Boys* all prefer you If Possible . . . We want to have a big time & It will do you no harm in the future perhaps. (*No Politics* You know).[52]

In late September, Bryan was invited to travel under the direction of the State Central Committee, an invitation which he apparently accepted.[53] He also received occasional requests for information on particular campaign issues, the Democratic platform, or President Cleveland's position on certain points.[54]

Bryan's vigorous, rather informal speeches seem to have created much enthusiasm among his supporters. One man wrote,

> Your speech here last Saturday night did a great deal of good—demoralized the Republicans fearfully. They sent off yesterday for 123 torches and are going to try to eclipse our meeting in numbers, enthusiasm, &c.[55]

To some admirers, he was known as "*Bryan the Invincible*."[56] Following a debate at McCook, one Democrat summed up Bryan's impact upon his audience:

> By your personal magnetism you won all hearts & by the force of your logic & argument you vanquished the enemy, and you gave us the day—Our fair minded republicans admit this.[57]

Toward the campaign's end, Bryan spoke successfully in a number of joint debates.[58] He did not let up in his attack, giving a speech on November 3, three days before the election:

> His presentation of the campaign issues was the ablest of the year. Mr. Bryan is one of the finest campaign orators in the west.[59]

Despite the Democratic defeat at the polls, one of Bryan's admirers telegraphed him:

> Congratulations on your splendid victory, Dem[ocracy] honors you and will ever remember your magnificent campaign.[60]

[48] Ibid., May 3, 1888.

[49] Ibid., August 6, 1888.

[50] Ibid., August 15, 1888.

[51] Ibid., August 13, 1888.

[52] Bryan papers, letter from W. Keller to Bryan, October 29, 1888. Many such invitations are contained in the Bryan papers; see, for example, letter from J. H. Morehead, Barada, Nebraska, to Bryan, September 6, 1888.

[53] Ibid., letter from Euclid Martin, treasurer of the Democratic State Central Committee, to Bryan, September 26, 1888. In August, at the Democratic State Convention, Bryan was nominated for both lieutenant-governor and state auditor, but he refused both nominations.

[54] Ibid., letter from Ed. P. Smith, Seward, Nebraska, to Bryan, July 26, 1888.

[55] Ibid., letter from W. S. White, Palmyra, Nebraska, to Bryan, September 3, 1888; letter from C. D. Casper, David City, to Bryan, September 16, 1888.

[56] Ibid., letter from Thomas Colfer, McCook, to Bryan, September 21, 1888.

[57] Ibid., October 8, 1888.

[58] Omaha *Daily Herald*, October 5, 13, and 22, 1888.

[59] Ibid., November 5, 1888.

[60] Bryan papers, letter from R. A. Batty, Hastings, Nebraska, to Bryan, November 5, 1888. It would be difficult to estimate the number of speeches given by Bryan during the campaign of 1888, but more than 30 are listed in the Omaha *Daily Herald* between July and November. Probably the actual number was 60 or more.

The campaign of 1888 was indeed a personal victory for William Jennings Bryan. His extraordinary efforts had taken him into many areas of the state, and had given him an enviable reputation as a speaker and as an effective campaigner. During the campaign, he had perfected his speaking techniques and had measured the great power he was capable of exercising over his audiences.[61] Accounts of his campaigning at this time indicate that Bryan had scarcely any rivals in the realm of oratory. Nature had equipped him with an unusually fine and powerful voice, and he had learned how to use this instrument most effectively. Other political figures depended upon torchlight parades, brass bands and gadgets of every sort to arouse public interest, but Bryan could rely on his voice and his oratorical power. His success in 1888 undoubtedly settled his own convictions that the most effective political campaign techniques required the candidate to meet the people on their own ground, to appeal to them directly. Bryan's personal triumph perhaps suggested to him that his future political success would depend substantially upon his own personal magnetism. In many respects, Bryan's tour of Nebraska in 1888 was a rehearsal of his great presidential campaign eight years later. Already, there were suggestions that Bryan might emerge to take over the reins of the state Democratic Party from its old-line leadership. A defensive letter from the treasurer of the Democratic State Central Committee to Bryan on the eve of the election indicates the challenge which the vigorous young man already presented to stalwart Democrats.[62] Already, too, there were signs that certain young men within the Party were chafing at the dominance of elderly and perennially unsuccessful leaders. Frank Morrissey, a young Omaha newspaperman, openly expressed his dissatisfaction with J. Sterling Morton, the leader of the old-line Democrats:

> Give us new men and fresh leadership. Get away from old heartaches and put new hopes in our bosoms if you would have militant democracy triumph. If you cling to ghosts haunting the charnel house of the past, demoralization of the party will continue and the shadow of defeat will remain heavy over it.[63]

[61] More than thirty years later, Mrs. Bryan recalled her husband's return from a campaign trip to western Nebraska where he discovered that he possessed "more than usual power as a speaker," that he could move his listeners as he chose. See Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 249.

[62] Bryan papers, letter from Euclid Martin to Bryan, November 1, 1888.

[63] Omaha *Daily Herald*, August 20, 1888.

Bryan was beginning to emerge as the type of dynamic young leader who might revive Nebraska's exhausted Democratic Party.

Between campaigns, during the years 1889 and 1890, Bryan worked in maintaining his own reputation and establishing useful contacts in Nebraska.[64] He set out to become an expert on the favorite Democratic campaign issue, the tariff, publishing a letter on the subject in the *New York Post* and endeavoring, unsuccessfully, to publish a book on tariff reform.[65] By early 1890, there could be little doubt that Bryan would be a major contender for the Democratic congressional nomination. The coming campaign was complicated by the growing agricultural unrest in the rural areas of Nebraska which became manifest with the rapid development of the Farmers' Alliance movement and its growing political influence in the state.[66] The Alliance movement added a third force to Nebraska politics with which both established parties would need to contend. Particularly for the Democrats, the Alliance posed a problem. Always a minority in the past, the Democratic Party might be able to take advantage of the new development if old party wounds could be healed, and if a candidate sufficiently attractive to the discontented farmers could be found. By the spring of 1890, Bryan's friends were urging cooperation and possible "fusion" of the Democratic and Alliance tickets with Bryan as the candidate for the House of Representatives from Nebraska's First Congressional District.[67] Everywhere, the Independent movement seemed

[64] He continued his interests in Y.M.C.A. work; see Bryan papers, letter from J. H. Waterman, president of the Y.M.C.A., Plattsmouth, Nebraska, to Bryan, January 14, 1889, and other correspondence from the Y.M.C.A. His work with the Democratic leadership is suggested in a letter (Bryan papers) from J. Sterling Morton to Bryan, October 10 and 11, 1889; Morton wished Bryan to prepare statements against subsidies for the Democratic state convention

[65] Bryan papers, letter from Walter Hinds Page to Bryan, August 27, 1889; G. P. Putnam's Sons to Bryan, September 3 and 13, 1889.

[66] The Farmers' Alliances were a phase in the formation of organizations among the agricultural population. Beginning in the South in the late 1870's, the Alliance movement spread into the Midwest wherever there was distress among the farmers. During the late 1880's, the Alliance became increasingly interested in political action and by 1890 the organization prepared to nominate and campaign for its own slate of candidates. See chapters 4–6 in Hicks, op. cit. (footnote 41).

[67] Bryan papers, letter from W. T. H. McClanahan, Elk Creek, Nebraska, May 10, 1890, who wrote to Bryan, "If the Democrats and alliance people can make a comb. this fall and

amazingly powerful. In some areas the new political party nominated its own candidates, but wherever they met the farmers and their leaders were firmly convinced of the righteousness of their cause and were fervently dedicated to winning their battle against oppression. Political meetings took on the evangelical character of camp meetings under Alliance leadership.[68]

Although he strenuously denied it, Bryan was rounding up support, courting the Alliance, and pushing himself for the congressional nomination.[69] He was urged to present a Fourth-of-July oration which would please the Alliance:

> A speech showing the dangerous tendency of the times in the growth of Millionairism which will in a few years more necessitate a standing army to protect these abnormal fortunes will hit our people about right.[70]

Another Bryan supporter saw much reason for encouragement in the complex political situation, and he urged the candidate to strive for Alliance support. "This would practically insure success."[71] With his youthful enthusiasm and his air of earnest conviction, Bryan was gaining favor among young Democrats and incurring the dislike of older party members who viewed him as a "mere stripling" and a newcomer to Nebraska.[72] But the Nebraska political scene in the summer of 1890 called for new ideas and new political personalities. An enthusiastic campaigner, firmly convinced of his own rightness and familiar with the outlook and the rhetoric of the country people, might be able to attract support from the discontented farmers. The situation was apparently ideal for young lawyer Bryan.

A Voice and a Message—Three Great Efforts

On July 30, 1890, the Democratic Party nominated Bryan for Representative to Congress from Nebraska's First Congressional District. Unable to hide his pleasure and satisfied with the success of his plan to achieve the candidacy, Bryan accepted the nomination and promised to conduct a hard, personal campaign, going into all parts of his district and offering to debate the issues with Republican leaders in every county seat in the district.[73] Bryan's friends rejoiced at his nomination; one enthusiast hoped that the Democrats had discovered "a Moses destined to lead the chosen people out of their bondage of trusts, tariff abuses and unnatural taxation."[74] Even a Republican recognized the candidate's "sterling qualities which whether used in the pulpit on the stump or in the halls of Congress redound to the honor of our Common Humanity."[75] J. Sterling Morton offered his congratulations and his assistance to the candidate, not realizing, apparently, that the time, the issues, and the more sedate and traditional political techniques were suddenly changing.[76] The Omaha *World-Herald* was well satisfied with the "young, eloquent, earnest, and able" nominee and predicted a "lively campaign for tariff reform and probably a victory also."[77]

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we can get them to endorse you. why I am betting on the result." See also, T. D. Worrall, Valparaiso, May 13, 1890, and J. W. Barnhart, Auburn, July 22, 1890, to Bryan, on the problems raised by the Alliance and the possibilities of cooperating with the new movement. The Omaha *World-Herald*, July 29, 1890, suggested that Alliance activity would split the Republican Party, throwing the election to the Democrats.

[68] The Omaha *World-Herald* contains numerous references to Alliance political activities during this period. See *World-Herald* for July 5, 20, 28, 30, and August 15, 1890, for accounts of Alliance conventions and plans.

[69] In a letter to Charles H. Brown, a rival for the Democratic nomination, June 30, 1890, Bryan insisted that he would work for Brown if he were nominated, that his political motivations were strictly disinterested, and that he had not tried to undermine the strength of the other possible nominees. Enthusiastic letters from friends throughout the district suggest that a great deal of work and planning had gone into Bryan's nomination. See, for example, Bryan papers, letters to Bryan from H. M. Boydston, Nebraska City, June 3 and 23; R. W. Story, Pawnee City, June 3 and 24; L. A. Simmons, Cortland, June 24; Edgar Howard, Papillion, July 3; J. W. Barnhart, Auburn, July 19, 1890.

[70] Ibid., letter from George A. Abbott, Falls City, June 19, 1890, to Bryan.

[71] Ibid., letter from J. W. Barnhart, Auburn, to Bryan, July 22, 1890.

[72] Ibid., letter from C. J. Smyth, Omaha, to Bryan, July 25, 1890.

[73] With becoming modesty, Bryan referred to his political inexperience and spoke of his need to rely on the Democratic committee; Omaha *World-Herald*, July 31, 1890.

[74] Bryan papers, letter from Eli H. Doud, South Omaha, to Bryan, July 31, 1890.

[75] Ibid., letter from C. F. Harrison, Omaha, July 31, 1890. Bryan received many congratulatory messages from friends both in and outside of Nebraska. See, for example, the letters from Ed. P. Smith of Seward, July 30; S. Hulfish, Wabash, July 31; Carl Morton (son of J. Sterling Morton), Nebraska City, July 31; H. W. Milligan, Illinois College, August 1.

[76] Ibid., letter from J. Sterling Morton, Chicago, to Bryan, July 31. Speaking before the Democratic State Convention two weeks later, Bryan spoke of the Republican crime against the public in demonetizing silver, an issue which later created a sharp division between the two men. An account of this "energetic address to an enthusiastic audience" is contained in the Omaha *World-Herald* of August 15, 1890.

[77] Omaha *World-Herald*, July 31, 1890.

Bryan's canvass in 1890 was very similar to his efforts in 1888 on behalf of J. Sterling Morton. Like most enthusiastic politicians, he was not reluctant to participate in the endless Democratic rallies, the torchlight parades, and the long-winded oratory of rural campaigning. His campaigning was different in degree, however, from that of his Nebraska political colleagues, for Bryan brought a vigor and enthusiasm to the campaign trail which others could not match. Bryan set out on an intensive speaking tour of his area, attending county fairs, standing by at the opening of a bridge, visiting all the county seats and many of the lesser communities in the First Congressional District. He followed the urgings of his old friends by conducting a "personal campaign," along with his speaking, making individual contacts in addition to his regular party work.[78] Bryan's power over his audiences, his unusual speaking ability and his great physical energy, made him very desirable as an attraction for local political gatherings.[79] Invitations poured in pleading with Bryan to appear at local meetings.[80] Once the campaign was well under way, the scheduling of Bryan's appearances became a major problem, so great was the demand for him to speak.[81] Both railroad timetables and political strategy influenced the planning of Bryan's congressional campaign. He traveled principally by rail to Democratic rallies and "jollifications" in the rural hamlets where many of the voters in his district waited to listen to him, hence train times often were considered in scheduling speaking engagements.[82] The strength of the Farmers' Alliance in certain areas also influenced Bryan's campaign plans; in some counties Democrats hoped for the collapse of the Alliance, while elsewhere Bryan's supporters advised him to cultivate the Independents.[83]

Other difficulties hampered the campaign: the candidate had to schedule his appearances in many communities at a time of day or on a certain date when the greatest crowds would hear him, since no electronic means of communication were available to amplify his voice or carry his message to a distant town.[84] At Rulo, in southeastern Nebraska, local Democrats bought off the "Indian show" which had reserved the town's best hall, in order to provide more space for Bryan's audience.[85] Party workers sometimes took the liberty of changing arrangements to make the best possible use of a popular speaker. From Wymore, Bryan heard:

> We have made some change in the program and will send you to Odell in the morning to shake hands with the dear people and have you address Blue Springs people in the afternoon and Liberty at night.[86]

Everywhere the pattern was similar: the candidate followed a ceaseless round of handshaking, jovial conversations, then introductions (often more verbose than eloquent) from local party officials, and an earnest, clear, and simple address on the tariff by the Congressman-to-be, punctuated by repeated rounds of applause, later perhaps a dinner or reception, or if the town was very small, the candidate might hurry off in a jouncing buckboard or race for the depot to make connections for his next appearance. Fortunately, Mr. Bryan had the necessary physical endurance to meet the very taxing demands of such a campaign. Sometimes, he had to face two or three audiences in a single day. Speeches under these

[78] Bryan papers, letter from Charles A. Barnes, Jacksonville, Illinois, to Bryan, August 5, 1890, advised a personal campaign. Edward L. McDonald, another Jacksonville friend, advised: "Speak everywhere—kiss all the babys [sic]—you can do it—you have mouth enough for both." (McDonald to Bryan, August 5, 1890.) James B. Meikle of Omaha wrote to Bryan on August 26, 1890: "My idea of making votes is, that the best plan is to talk to men one at a time and demonstrate to them that it is to their private interest to vote with your party. Of course there must be speech making torchlight processions, etc. etc. to keep up the enthusiasm of the multitude, but the quiet work is what changes votes."

[79] Bryan papers, Dan Begley, of Papillion, wrote to Bryan on August 9: "When you come to Papillion we expect to have a grand time."

[80] Ibid., letters to Bryan from B. F. Good, Wahoo, August 13; L. A. Dunphy, Colon, August 19; W. E. McClanahan, Elk Creek, August 23.

[81] Ibid., letter from J. W. Barnhart, Auburn, to Bryan, September 17, 1890.

[82] Ibid., letters to Bryan from L. A. Dunphy, Colon, August 19; Francis J. Morgan, Plattsmouth, October 21; H. M. Boydston, Nebraska City, October 22.

[83] Ibid., letters to Bryan from Edwin Falloon, Falls City, August 23, 1890; B. F. Good, Wahoo, August 13; L. A. Dunphy, Colon, August 19; John Sherman, Wahoo, August 24; W. B. Morrison, Hickman, August 26.

[84] Ibid., letters to Bryan from W. B. Morrison, August 26; J. W. Barnhart, September 17; R. B. Wallace, Union, September 28; Francis J. Morgan, October 21, 1890.

[85] Ibid., letter to Bryan from John Cagnon, Rulo, October 10, 1890.

[86] Ibid., letter to Bryan from V. A. Tiven, Wymore, September 27, 1890.

circumstances were necessarily brief, even perfunctory, and usually repetitive. During the months of September and October, Bryan devoted his entire time and energy to campaign tours, speaking nearly every day and covering his district intensively, from one end to the other. On Sundays, however, he rested, observing the Sabbath.

As the campaign went on, events became reminiscent of the struggle in 1888. In a well-applauded speech at the Richardson County convention, Bryan supported a radical platform, including silver coinage, and opposed prohibition.[87] By September 24, approximately the midpoint of the campaign, Bryan had established such a reputation as a speaker that farmers came from miles away to hear him. In Louisville, "At the close of his address old farmers and young farmers and business men rushed forward to shake Mr. Bryan by the hand."[88] Bryan spoke the language of the farmers and the small-town dwellers by using clear and simple phraseology, homely anecdotes, arguing with evangelical fervor and seemingly transparent logic, and avoiding vicious abuse of his rivals.[89] He was praised for the decency of his oratory; its upright quality permitted ladies to listen without embarrassment.[90] In addition to his strenuous campaign in the villages of his district, Bryan made speeches in all the wards of Omaha, and took part in a grand Bryan rally at that city on October 25.[91] Early in September, Bryan heard of the progress of the city organization: "Nearly every ward in the city has a club; and all will have them in a few days. The clubs are good things . . . ."[92] The Bryan Club at Lincoln, a Republican stronghold, planned to celebrate on October 1st the third anniversary of the arrival in Lincoln of their "brilliant young champion and eloquent standard bearer."[93]

Bryan's campaign in 1890 was characterized by one new and important feature. On September 25, Bryan challenged his rival, W. J. Connell, to a "joint debate at one place in each county of this district."[94] The challenge was accepted and the candidates agreed to meet for eleven debates during the last three weeks of October.[95] No records remain to indicate the origin of the debate idea. Perhaps it was Bryan's; he had grown up in the long shadow of the Lincoln-Douglas debates which took place in his home state of Illinois two years before his birth, and he had been a vigorous debater in college. Whatever the source, the debates were an inspiration and put Bryan in the best possible light as a formidable public speaker. In debate, the young man could demonstrate his earnestness, his preoccupation with "the issues," his knack of simplifying political problems and adopting a strongly moral point of view, and his very capable use of anecdotes to dramatize and illustrate his points. He was, by this time, a confident and impressive speaker, and he became more impressive as the debates drew to a close.

From the first meeting at Lincoln, Bryan put his Republican opponent on the defensive, attacking the McKinley tariff in particular, but not forgetting the indefinite Republican stand on prohibition, the "boss rule" of Speaker Reed in the House of Representatives, and advocating direct election of Senators. In answer to Connell's argument for the protection of American labor, Bryan pointed out the effects of the tariff in bringing higher prices and diminished output. The *World-Herald* reported: "To say that his remarks were punctured with applause would hardly express the situation, as he had hardly time to speak between the cheers and applause which greeted his every remark."[96] The debates continued to be triumphantly successful for the Democratic contender. Even his "most ardent admirers" were surprised and captivated by "the avalanche of oratory, wit, and logic" which the young candidate displayed.[97] During the fourth debate, Connell "conceded that Bryan was his superior as an orator and logician and the vast audience fully approved this view."[98] During the eighth debate at Pawnee City, Connell became angry and "rattled."[99] Even allowing for the excess enthusiasm and partisan

[87] Omaha *World-Herald*, September 21 and 23, 1890. See similar accounts in the *World-Herald* on September 11, 1890, of speeches at Valparaiso and Mead, September 14 at Brownville, September 16 at Peru, September 17 at Falls City, September 27 at Hickman, September 28 at Mead, October 3 at Union, and October 8 at Elkhorn.

[88] Ibid., September 23, 1890.

[89] Ibid., September 17, 1890, praised Bryan's "plain and simple language," his earnestness, his honesty, and his outspoken positions on the issues; ibid., October 10, 1890, described the candidate as an "evangelist."

[90] Ibid., September 8 and 16, 1890.

[91] Ibid., September 19, 1890.

[92] Bryan papers, letter from C. J. Smyth, of Omaha, to Bryan, September 2, 1890.

[93] Omaha *World-Herald*, September 22, 1890.

[94] Ibid., September 26, 1890.

[95] Ibid., October 7, 1890.

[96] Ibid., October 14, 1890.

[97] Ibid., October 17, 1890, describing the third debate at Wahoo.

[98] Ibid., October 18, 1890.

[99] Ibid., October 23, 1890.

accounts of the debates given in the *World-Herald*, there is little doubt that these meetings created an extraordinary amount of public interest and engendered much enthusiasm for the Democratic candidate. Commenting on Bryan's manner, the sympathetic *World-Herald* called him an orator, "not an apologetic speaker but a commanding one," "enamored with his cause," "impregnated . . . with the idea that his cause is righteous . . . ," a speaker who inspired "a sense of exhilaration." Yet, despite his high seriousness and the righteous quality of his addresses, Bryan's arguments were leavened by "a pleasant wit, and even a spirit of mischief." [100] "You do us proud," wrote one admirer. Another wrote: "Am glad you are knocking Mr. Connell out of the box. We are all praying for you." [101] The final debate at Syracuse on October 29 was declared to be a triumph for Mr. Bryan, in which he summed up the Democratic views on prohibition, free coinage of silver, the McKinley tariff, and other issues of the campaign. As a grand climax to this final meeting, Bryan presented Connell, his opponent, with a copy of Gray's *Elegy* as a tribute to the humble life. Three cheers were given for each candidate, then a local Democrat stepped forward to present Bryan with two floral pieces, one lettered "Truth," the other "Eloquence." In a brief speech to the conquering hero, the Democratic spokesman asserted that the floral tributes "express every shade of our respect, admiration and honor for the brightest and purest advocate of our cause in Nebraska." [102]

The Republican press was disturbed by the power of Bryan's oratory and his growing popularity. Opposition newspapers attacked him on two fronts: he was rumored to have made a speech in favor of prohibition, and he had stated that he was tired of hearing of laws made for the benefit of laborers working in shops. Bryan countered both arguments, declaring that he had been more outspoken in his opposition to prohibition than any of the Republican candidates, and explaining that he was against legislation such as the tariff which discriminated against one class, farmers, and favored another.[103] Nevertheless, his apparent prejudice in favor of the farmers was used against him. But Bryan's opponents had little ground for personal attacks on the young candidate. In contrast to many political figures, he was young, clean-cut, apparently honest, and innocent of corrupt connections with the old Democratic organization. Democrats, not surprisingly, were jubilant at the impression which he created:

> Mr. Bryan comes nearer being the idol of his friends than any young man who has appeared in politics in the history of Nebraska. His style of oratory is so different from that of any other speaker that it has the charm of originality as well as uniqueness. There is no effort to produce an effect by high-sounding phrases, demagogic appeals to passion or prejudice . . . . He thoroughly

Figure 5.—During William Jennings Bryan's first campaign for the congressional seat of Nebraska's First District, he took part in a debate with his rival, W. J. Connell, on October 29, 1890. Following the debate, he received two floral pieces from his admirers. Rural audiences throughout the southern and western portions of the district were impressed by the candidate's sincerity, his serious manner, and his eloquence. (*Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*)

[100] Ibid., October 18, 1890.

[101] Bryan papers, letters to Bryan from H. M. Boydston on October 16, and from George W. Davy, of Fremont, on October 17, 1890.

[102] Omaha *World-Herald*, October 30, 1890.

[103] Ibid., October 25 and November 1, 1890. The Democratic press traded charges with the Republicans, declaring that Prohibition hoodlums were terrorizing Omaha.

believes what he says, and his entire lack of artfulness makes him invincible.[104]

The Democratic campaign reached its climax with a great meeting at the Omaha Coliseum on election eve where Boyd, the conservative old-line candidate for governor, and William Jennings Bryan, the dynamic young aspirant for Congress, appeared together.[105]

On election day, the miracle occurred: Bryan captured the congressional seat in the First District, winning a significant plurality, but not a majority.[106] He had benefited substantially from several factors not directly related to his personal popularity, including a vigorous struggle against prohibition which resulted in some 4,000 fraudulent votes being cast in Omaha for the Democratic ticket.[107] Without the departure of many Independents from the Republican Party, Bryan could hardly have hoped for success, but the Alliance candidate was relatively weak and pulled fewer votes than a stronger figure might have done. Bryan, himself, undoubtedly attracted some Independent support. One other factor contributed to Bryan's victory: 1890 was a Democratic year throughout the nation, with significant Democratic gains in Congress. Although he campaigned vigorously and attracted much public notice, his own efforts constituted only a partial reason for his success.

Nevertheless, his supporters were enthusiastic about the campaign and its results.[108] There is little doubt that both the candidate and his friends were profoundly impressed by Bryan's energetic work and its result in the First District. It seemed clear to Bryan that he had won his victory almost single-handedly. J. Sterling Morton, the grand old man of the Democratic Party in Nebraska, contributed not at all to the new Congressman's election.[109] His campaign had been, to a considerable degree, separate and distinct from the organization's work on behalf of Boyd and against prohibition, and he had attracted support from voters who were not normally Democrats, running ahead of the ticket nearly everywhere. The campaign of 1890 was another demonstration to Bryan of his unusual powers as an orator and campaigner, and another rehearsal for the great struggle of 1896.

During his two terms in Congress, Bryan established a substantial reputation as an orator. Of his efforts, two were particularly noteworthy. On March 16, 1892, he spoke on the tariff, arguing in favor of the Wilson Bill, which modified the high duties of the McKinley tariff, and urging that protection be given to the American home, "the grandest home industry that this or any other nation ever had."[110] On August 16, 1893, he delivered an even more important address on the free-coinage issue in which he combined impressive erudition, an apparent mastery of the economic issues, and an eloquent appeal on behalf of the "forgotten men" of the United States—the producers, the farmers and laborers, and the small business men who would be hurt by a bill passed in the interests of the financiers of Wall Street and England. Finishing in a blaze of emotional rhetoric, Bryan declared:

> God raised up an Andrew Jackson who had the courage to grapple with that great enemy [the United States Bank], and by overthrowing it, he made himself the idol of the people and reinstated the Democratic party in public confidence. What will be the decision today? The Democratic party has won the greatest success in its history. Standing upon this victory-crowned summit,

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[104] Ibid., October 29, quoting the Plattsmouth *Journal*.

[105] Ibid., November 3 and 4.

[106] Paolo E. Coletta, "The Morning Star of the Reformation: William Jennings Bryan's First Congressional Campaign," *Nebraska History* (1956), vol 37, pp. 103–119; the vote stood Bryan, 32,376; Connell, 25,663; Root (Independent), 13,066.

[107] Jesse E. Boell, "The Career of William Jennings Bryan to 1896" (master's thesis, University of Nebraska, 1929), pp. 63–64.

[108] Bryan papers, congratulatory messages to Bryan from friends. P. O. Cassidy, of Lincoln, wrote on November 6, 1890, "Your canvas was manly, brilliant and aggressive. Such a fight as yours was bound to win." Charles M. Chamberlain, of Tecumseh, enthused on November 6: "It is a grand campaign that you have made & a grander outcome." C. T. Brown, of Omaha, was amazed at the candidate's endurance, November 6: "I am frank to say to you that I don't believe there is another man in the Democratic party in Nebraska who could have taken the stump and made as many votes as you did . . . ." Even some Republicans were impressed: W. R. Kelly, the General Attorney for the Union Pacific System in Nebraska, wrote, November 7: "I cannot withhold from you my personal congratulations upon the brilliant canvass which you have made . . . ." Omaha's Democratic press prophesied a great future for the candidate: "And if the *World-Herald* reads the stars aright the time will come when W. J. Bryan will have a reputation which will reach far beyond Nebraska." (Omaha *World-Herald*, October 18, 1890.)

[109] Ibid., letter from J. Sterling Morton to Bryan, November 3, 1890.

[110] Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 497. Mrs. Bryan remembered the tension of this first great speech and her relief as its pronounced effects were felt in the House (p. 238). An admirer wrote to Bryan after this speech, "How old are you? Am for you for the Democratic Presidential nomination if you are old enough" (p. 101).

> will it turn its face to the rising or the setting sun? Will it choose blessings or cursings—life or death—which? Which? [111]

Perhaps the young Congressman was thinking that God had raised up a new Jackson—William Jennings Bryan.[112] Between 1892 and 1896, the silver issue penetrated the nation to become the most controversial, single, public question and the righteous cause of many reformers. Indeed, propagated by a remarkably effective promotional effort, the currency question tended for a time to crowd out other important problems. The cry of "free silver" seemed to offer to Americans, who were accustomed to thinking in terms of moral absolutes, a righteous solution to the national problems.[113] For orators such as William Jennings Bryan, the silver issue created great opportunities for evangelical speechmaking.

Bryan also participated in Democratic campaigns outside of Nebraska, enhancing his reputation and gaining valuable experience. During the state and local campaigns of 1891 in Iowa and South Dakota, Bryan spoke out with his usual vigor and eloquence. At Creston, Iowa, his speech was the "first democratic gun of the Union county campaign . . . ." His oration was characterized by "plain, common sense, reasoning and sound arguments . . ." which demolished the tariff advocates. One of the attractive features of Bryan's style was its simplicity, which made for ease of understanding. The local press commented on the "splendid reputation" which the "energetic young man" had made in Iowa.[114] Bryan also spoke at Sioux City and other Iowa towns.[115] Toward the close of the contest, he delivered an impressive address at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. As in Iowa, he appeared young and clean-cut and his oratory was simple yet clear, masterful, and inspiring:

> Mr. Bryan is an orator, easy, graceful and possessing a thorough grasp of detail and a power of utterance which drive his points home, and make them stick. His speech was new in the political line. It consisted not in abuse of opponents or empty assertions but in compact logical arguments, founded upon facts and couched in language polished and convincing.[116]

It would be difficult to assess the impact and importance of Bryan's work in campaigns of this sort. It surely increased and spread his reputation, and its apparent success must have encouraged the young man to steer an independent political course. For it seemed that he was most successful when he worked by himself, relying on the influence of his own effective oratory and his dynamic manner to convert his audiences.

Bryan ran for a second term in the House of Representatives in 1892, conducting an energetic campaign which followed closely the pattern of his efforts in 1882 and 1890. Even more than in 1890, a victory in 1892 would require much Bryan support from the third party. Nebraska had been redistricted, and Omaha, a Democratic stronghold, had been subtracted from the First District.[117] In order to win the election, Bryan needed greater majorities in the country towns. Hoping to gain Populist votes, Bryan came out fully for free silver in this campaign, much to the distress of both his Republican opponents and conservative Democrats such as J. Sterling Morton. The young candidate must have felt somewhat complimented when the Republican Party dispatched William McKinley to Nebraska to campaign against him. After an exhausting canvass, with days of oratory, debates with his opponent, handshaking, and traveling from meeting to meeting, with little time for rest or reflection, Bryan struggled to a close victory with a plurality of only 140 votes, having run well ahead of the Democratic state ticket throughout his district to win a difficult three-cornered contest. It is little wonder that he was satisfied with his performance and

[111] Bryan, *The First Battle*, p. 114. On August 16, 1893, Bryan wrote of his strong feelings on the silver question: "I never felt more deeply the gravity of a question. I believe our prosperity depends upon its right solution and I pray that I may be the instrument in the hands of Providence of doing some good for my country . . . . Am satisfied that the speech as *written* is the most forcible I have yet produced. The only thing I fear is the delivery."

[112] Ibid., p. 121, Bryan spoke out on the silver question on other occasions in Congress. Describing it in evangelical terms as a "righteous cause," he said, "It will rise and in its rising and its reign will bless mankind." See pp. 76–121 for extensive excerpts from Bryan's speeches on the currency issue in Congress.

[113] The full history of the silver campaign has never been told. For a sympathetic view, see chapters 14–17 in Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller: Defender of the West* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941), chs. 14–17. See also, chapters 12 and 17 in James A. Barnes, *John G. Carlisle* (New York, 1931), for a description of the antisilver crusade.

[114] Creston, Iowa, *Advertiser*, n.d. [1891], in Bryan clipping collection, unmounted material, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska.

[115] Ibid., Sioux City *Daily Tribune*, October (28?) 1891.

[116] Ibid., Sioux Falls, South Dakota, *Argus-Leader*, October 27, 1891.

[117] Omaha *World-Herald*, February 22, 1891, describes various plans for redistricting Nebraska.

Figure 6.—Whistle-stopping during the 1890's, Bryan speaks to a small-town audience typical of the hundreds which he addressed during the campaign of 1896. (*Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*)

convinced of the effectiveness of his energetic campaign techniques.[118]

His two terms in Congress established Bryan's position as a leading Democrat of the new generation, but much important work was accomplished outside of Congress during these years. Between 1892 and 1894, the young man took over leadership of the Democratic Party in Nebraska, supplanting the older generation of Democrats. Although he had begun his career in the state as a protégé of J. Sterling Morton, it is unfair to say that he had ever committed himself either to Morton's political organization or to his principles.[119] Bryan represented the interests of younger Democrats as Morton would never do, and

[118] For a detailed treatment of the campaign of 1892 see Paolo E. Coletta, "William Jennings Bryan's Second Congressional Campaign," *Nebraska History* (December 1959), vol. 40, pp. 275–291.

[119] Paxton Hibben, op. cit. (footnote 2), pp. 122–124, argues that Bryan had taken advantage of Morton when the younger man first arrived in Nebraska. But once he had become well known and had no further use for the "Sage of Arbor Lodge," Bryan turned on Morton, attacking and undermining the latter's political position; however, Hibben's argument is not well sustained by the facts. Morton lost his control of the Democratic Party in Nebraska largely through his own inflexibility and unresponsiveness to new conditions.

his capture of party control in Nebraska was important in setting the stage for his assumption of national Democratic leadership at Chicago in 1896. Between 1892 and 1896 Bryan also shifted the focus of his political attack from the tariff to the currency question, becoming a major figure in the national silver movement during these years. His accomplishments during this period depended to no little degree upon his campaign techniques.

To a certain extent, practitioners of politics necessarily operate in two separate arenas, that of the "smoke-filled room"—the machine organization, and that of the public platform. Because the demands of these two arenas are fundamentally different, most politicians maintain two separate personalities or "faces." Bryan was never able to adapt fully to this requirement of politics, and he seems to have preserved essentially similar attitudes in the back room and on the speaker's rostrum. He was never a machine politician, concerned chiefly with developing a loyal organization through the mechanisms of rewards and punishments. William Allen White, one of Bryan's most observant contemporaries, has written:

> Bryan showed his greatest personal strength in the fact that he was utterly without a political machine. And Bryan was machineless, not because he abhorred the machine, but because he ignored it. He did not know what to do with captains and lieutenants. He had only his clarion voice.[120]

Nevertheless, in order to succeed at his vocation, Bryan needed to capture control of the party organization in Nebraska. He used virtually the same techniques to accomplish this feat that he had used to gain his seat in the House of Representatives—a voice and a message. By inspiring great enthusiasm among young Democrats in the state, and by appealing to all voters, regardless of their party affiliation, Bryan was able to control and essentially reconstruct the Nebraska Democracy. Although he did not direct the party machinery until 1896, he had become the state's leading Democrat by 1892.[121]

Figure 7.—This formal campaign portrait was characteristic of the impression which Bryan wished to create. A serious, good-looking young man, Bryan appeared to be the antithesis of the sinister influences in political machines. (*Courtesy Nebraska State Historical Society.*)

CAMPAIGN FOR SENATE

In 1893, Bryan's friends felt confident enough to enter his name in the senatorial race. Democrats had little hope of achieving victory because Senators were chosen by state legislatures, and the Nebraska legislature was almost evenly matched between Republicans and Independents, with only a tiny minority of Democrats. The Democratic leadership was hopelessly split and Bryan, who hoped for support from the Independents, was "the only hope the democracy of this state has."[122] But because he was in Washington, he could not take advantage of his personal popularity: "If you could be here, without leaving Washington," wrote one of his friends, "you could do a great deal. The main trouble is that the Big Chiefs are against you, & the multitude that is for you has

[120] William Allen White, *Masks in a Pageant* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 274–275.

[121] A major battle for power occurred in the Democratic State Convention of April 13–14, 1892, when the younger generation clashed directly with the older, the latter group maintaining control of the Democratic machinery by a very slim margin. See Paolo E. Coletta, "The Democratic State Convention of April 13–14, 1892," *Nebraska History* (December 1958), vol. 39, pp. 317–333.

[122] Bryan papers, letter from James Devenny, chairman of the Democratic County Committee, Tecumseh, Nebraska, January 21, 1893, to Bryan. See also, L. A. Dunphy, Colon, to Bryan, January 5, 1893; and F. R. Mayes, Bartlett, to Bryan, January 9, indicating much Independent support for Bryan.

neither time nor money to spend in the lobby."[123] The Independents, however, had their own strong candidate, William V. Allen, who won the Senate seat with help from Bryan Democrats in the legislature. To a degree, the election of Allen was a victory for Bryan, since the new Senator was favorable to fusion and opposed to both of the old party organizations.[124] In the meantime, Bryan's men took the offensive in working for control of the state Democratic Party.[125] In retaliation for Bryan's insurgency, President Cleveland gave control of the Nebraska patronage to J. Sterling Morton and appointed the latter as Secretary of Agriculture.[126] The extent of support for Bryan in 1893 was very encouraging, but the political situation in Nebraska indicated the need for continued work among adherents of the third party.

Bryan stumped Nebraska in the fall of 1894, hoping again for a seat in the United States Senate. Despite the fact that his campaign would have no direct impact on the election itself, Bryan wished to demonstrate his own popularity to the Nebraska legislators. He was apparently hopeful that a massive indication of his power as a votegetter would influence the legislature in his favor, and that his canvass might aid in the election of Democratic candidates for state offices.[127] Support for Bryan's candidacy seemed general and enthusiastic, and many friends urged him to visit their communities. One man wrote of the immense opportunities for winning votes at Broken Bow in central Nebraska: "We want you to come & meet our people take them by the hand that they may see the man who is not afraid to defend and work for the West . . . . *We must* have enough votes in Lincoln this winter to send W. J. Bryan to the U.S. Senate. *We need help.*"[128] Reed Runroy, Nebraska's boy poet, predicted a Bryan victory in the Senate race: "And from there I see you stepping into the president's chair . . . ."[129] Bryan's campaigning in 1894 followed the familiar pattern, but instead of stumping a single congressional district, Bryan

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[123] Ibid., letter from J. D. Calhoun, of Lincoln, to Bryan, January 23, 1893. Other accounts of this confused situation in the state legislature are contained in letters from T. S. Allen, February 4 and 6, 1893, to Bryan. A letter from T. W. Worrell on February 6 and 9, to Bryan, describes the maneuverings of J. Sterling Morton and the corporations in this strange affair.

[124] Ibid., letter from T. S. Allen, of Lincoln, on February 8, 1893, to Bryan: "I think it is safe to say [Senator William V. Allen] will work with you on every question & you can depend on his support & influence in future campaigns here."

[125] Ibid., C. D. Casper, of Lincoln, wrote to Bryan on February 8, 1893: "We propose to reorganize the party. I am going to organize the democratic editors and possibly the independent editors with a view to future work in joint service. Morton and Boyd both hate you." Many other letters among the Bryan papers suggest the eagerness of young Democrats to "cut loose from . . . old fossils."

[126] Bryan's friends were furious with Morton because of his devious tactics in connection with the senatorial election: see Bryan papers, letter from H. M. Boydston on January 25, 1893, to Bryan, for a severe criticism of Morton. For certain details on the ideological basis of the break between Bryan and Morton, see KENNETH E. MCINTYRE, "The Morton-Bryan Controversy" (master's thesis, University of Nebraska: 1943). An investigation by Senator Henry M. Teller demonstrated that Cleveland had deliberately postponed appointing applicants to work against Bryan on the state level. See ELLIS, *Henry Moore Teller*, p. 219. Some Bryan supporters urged the young man to ignore Cleveland's blatant attempt to use patronage against him. See J. D. Calhoun's letter on March 6, 1893, to Bryan preferring not to press his candidacy for the postmastership at Lincoln.

[127] Bryan papers, J. C. Ecker of Dixon, to Bryan, September 5, 1894. C. J. Smyth, chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, published an appeal in the Omaha *World-Herald*, asking voters to back Democratic candidates for the Nebraska Legislature in order that Bryan would be chosen as Senator instead of the Republican aspirant. PAOLO E. COLETTA, "Bryan, Cleveland, and the Disrupted Democracy, 1890–1896," *Nebraska History* (March 1960), vol. 31, p. 15, argues that Bryan's situation at this time was almost a direct parallel to the campaign of 1896. This article effectively surveys the split in the Nebraska Democratic Party and the implications of this dispute for the national party.

[128] Bryan papers, letters from S. B. Thompson to Bryan, September 5, 1894. Bryan's friends in other parts of the state were anxious for him to visit their communities. See, for example, letter from John L. Cleaver, Falls City, to Bryan, October 13, 1894. M. H. Weiss of Hebron, wrote on October 6, 1894: "We are sparing neither time nor money to carry this Co. for you and we will do the same to make your meetings a success."

[129] Bryan papers, letter from Reed Runroy to Bryan, October 6, 1894. Encouragement also came from out of state. Josephus Daniels, a prominent young southern Democrat, favored Bryan, and James B. Weaver, the Populist presidential candidate in 1892, was interested in the young man's future. See Bryan papers, letter from Josephus Daniels to Bryan, September 19, 1894. On September 1, Weaver wrote to Bryan, "Synthesis—not division is the order of God and of common sense." See also, Weaver to Bryan, September 30, urging unity among the silver forces and fostering division in the ranks of the gold people. Typical of the enthusiastic letters received by Bryan from ordinary voters was an encouraging epistle from Edwin C. Wiggenham of La Crosse, Wisconsin, dated October 15, 1894: "Knowing your habit of capturing everything you start out to get, I congratulate you in advance . . . . If you win this fight the presidency is not beyond your reach." A Missourian, hoping to persuade Bryan to speak in that state, wrote:

needed to cover the entire state. He could not answer every request for help but he did his best, concentrating his speaking engagements in the county seats and the more important towns in the eastern third of Nebraska, the most populous portion of the state. During September and October, Bryan made more than fifty personal appearances in behalf of his candidacy and in support of the Democratic state ticket. On most of the days when he was campaigning, the candidate appeared in two different towns, sometimes traveling long distances to reach both of his meetings. His audiences were generally reported as large and enthusiastic, and he pursued his opponents—both Republicans and gold-standard Democrats—with his usual vigor. Bryan made ample use of Nebraska's railroads as he traveled through the state, a forecast of his extraordinary rail trips in 1896.

The climax of Bryan's campaign for the Senate was a pair of two debates between Bryan and his Republican opponent, John M. Thurston. The debates attracted a great deal of interest and enormous crowds attended the meetings. Eager partisans of both candidates arrived at Lincoln by the trainload, crowding into the Agricultural Building at the State Fair Grounds for the first debate in October 17. At Omaha on the next evening, a crowd estimated at 15,000 heard the debaters argue the justice of the tariff, the need for free coinage of silver, and other great economic questions.[130] Although one of his friends insisted: "Your debate with Mr. Thurston has strengthened your prestige among farmers up here materially," the signs of victory were not reassuring.[131] On October 4, William McKinley addressed a great crowd at the Omaha Coliseum, denouncing the Democratic depression, defending the gold standard, and extolling the protective tariff.[132] On November 5, election eve, an exhausted William Jennings Bryan spent the evening with his family at Lincoln; the next day it was all over. Nebraska's Democrats were not alone in their total defeat; throughout the nation, the Republican party had won great successes, taking control of the House of Representatives and state legislatures everywhere outside the South. By not running for reelection to the House, Bryan saved himself from almost certain defeat. He may have been consoled by his "preferential" vote of 80,000, an outstanding achievement in a Republican year.[133] During the winter of 1895 the Republican, John M. Thurston, was chosen by the state legislature to represent Nebraska in the United States Senate.

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT

Bryan's political apprenticeship ended with the senatorial vote in 1894; his political style and his campaign techniques were fully developed by this time, and he carried them on with only minor variations for the remainder of his life. Furthermore, his ambitions had, by 1894, encompassed every office that he would ever desire, for he had concluded that the Presidency lay within his grasp. His apparent popularity and success as a public speaker gave him assurance that he would be a strong contender for the highest office. By fulfilling his role as the David of commonsense democracy and free silver, he would vanquish the false and exploitive Goliath of privilege, greed, and gold. But before he would have an opportunity to slay the giant, Bryan needed to become known throughout the nation as a defender of justice for the common man. He had already gained an enviable reputation through his more important speeches in the House of Representatives and his speaking tours outside of Nebraska. In the two years which followed his ill-fated campaign for the Senate, Bryan set out to utilize the techniques and talents which he had developed during the ten years of his political apprenticeship, in order to build on the existing foundation of his fame. His drive for the Presidency was fundamentally an individual effort, represented by two separate campaigns: the first for the Democratic nomination during 1895 and the first half of 1896; the second, for President during the memorable campaign of 1896.[134]

"The people of this county will almost swear by you. You certainly have a most enviable reputation and I want you to come." (John F. Brandon, Carrollton, Missouri, to Bryan, September 27, 1894.)

[130] Omaha *World-Herald*, October 18, 19, and 21, 1894, carried details of the debates.

[131] Bryan papers, letter from William H. Green to Bryan, October 26, 1894.

[132] Omaha *World-Herald*, October 5, 1894. McKinley campaigned aggressively during the fall of 1894, defending protection in 371 speeches in 16 States. See MARGARET LEECH, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), pp. 61–62, for an account of this effort.

[133] BOELL, op. cit. (footnote 107), pp. 134–143.

[134] Bryan's presidential campaign in 1896 has been most fully described in his own volume, *The First Battle* (Chicago, 1896). The campaign deserves a modern scholarly reconsideration from the perspective of both McKinley and Bryan. Bryan's drive for the nomination during the years 1895–96 is a story in itself, deserving of special consideration.

Except for a limited number of special speaking tours, Bryan was unable to concentrate on his presidential hopes until he had completed serving his term as Representative from Nebraska in the Lame Duck Session of Congress in March 1895. Once free of his responsibilities, Bryan actively solicited speaking engagements from every region of the country, and his calendar soon became so crowded that he could not begin to answer the demand.[135] His great tour of the nation during the winter of 1895–1896 was, in retrospect, a rehearsal of the canvass of 1896, grooming him for the candidacy where his greatest strength seemed to lie—in the agricultural regions of the South and West. He had already attracted support in the South; the impact of his oratory in that region seemed little different from what it had been in Iowa and Nebraska.[136] In 1895, the times seemed more auspicious. Bryan had become widely known as a spokesman for the free coinage of silver and audiences were ready and eager to listen to his famous lecture, "Bimetallism."[137] Even the promoters of lyceums were anxious to arrange traveling coinage debates and engage Bryan as a speaker.[138]

During the late spring and summer, Bryan traveled into the South and the Middle West, delivering a number of major addresses as well as scores of minor speeches.[139] On May 23, at Memphis, "the storm center of the South . . . in the agitation of the all absorbing currency question," Bryan addressed an "honest money" meeting on the day following a speech by Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle in favor of gold.[140] Shortly thereafter, he appeared in Springfield, Illinois, as the guest of honor at the Illinois Democratic silver convention. By this time, he was being spoken of as "David" or "Young Moses," appellations which must have gladdened his heart.[141] Throughout the summer, he toured in this fashion, debating at some places, orating at others. At Mexico, Missouri, "His magic oratory seemed to intoxicate his listeners. Even the local bankers seemed to agree with the silver-tongued orator from Nebraska."[142] In New Orleans, the reaction was little different: "His speech was a masterpiece of eloquence, the happiest combination of argument, pathos, and humor. New Orleans has heard many of the world's famous orators, but none have excelled and few have equalled the brilliant speaker from Nebraska."[143] By late summer, the interest in Bryan's lecture tour had grown and changed somewhat in emphasis: his supporters were beginning to ask for him because they regarded him as a possible candidate for high office.[144]

Bryan spent September visiting the Far West—Colorado, Wyoming, Nevada, California, Oregon, Washington, and other states.[145] His lecturing continued through fall at such diverse points as Dallas,

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[135] Bryan papers, letters to Bryan from A. S. Colyar, Nashville, Tennessee, March 12, and F. E. Buford, editor of the *Brunswick Gazette*, Lawrenceville, Virginia, March 16, 1895. Many other appeals to Bryan may be found in the Bryan papers.

[136] Bryan papers, clipping file: the Atlanta *Constitution*, June 15, 1893, reported that an Atlanta audience had cheered mightily at Bryan's eloquent and witty oration on government economy, tariff reform, and bimetallism. "It was a splendid ovation . . . the enthusiastic audience rose up and proclaimed him with wild shouts the Andrew Jackson of modern times . . . ."

[137] C. Selden Smart, business manager of the Arena Publishing Co., of Boston, regarded Bryan so highly that he hoped to publicize the young man's views on silver. See Bryan papers, letter from Smart to Bryan, February 18, 1895. See also, letter dated April 24, 1895, from P. A. Regan of Boise, Idaho, inviting Bryan to deliver his "famous lecture—Bimetallism" at Boise.

[138] Bryan papers, letter from J. E. Brockway, manager of the Brockway Lecture Bureau at Pittsburgh, to Bryan, April 15, proposing the coinage debates. Bryan lectured under the auspices of the Shearer Lecture and Music Bureau; see Bryan papers, J. L. Shearer letters to Bryan, July 30 and August 5, 1895. The Lincoln *Nebraska State Journal*, a Republican paper, commented with a fair degree of accuracy on Bryan's plan to conduct a lecture tour: "He hopes by this method to increase both his bank account and his reputation throughout the country" (January 14, 1895, Bryan clippings collection, Nebraska State Historical Society).

[139] Bryan papers, letter from Bryan to L. W. Hubbell, general manager of the St. Louis-Aurora Mining Co., Aurora, Missouri, May 9, 1895. On the way from Lincoln, Nebraska, to Memphis, Bryan spoke at several smaller communities, a practice which put him into direct contact with the ordinary folk from whom he hoped to gain his strongest support.

[140] Bryan papers, clipping file, St. Louis *Republic*, May 9, 1895.

[141] Ibid., Chicago *Times-Herald*, June 6, 1895.

[142] Ibid., St. Louis *Republic*, May 28, 1895.

[143] Ibid., New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, June 11, 1895.

[144] Ibid., letter from Charles M. Rosser, Terrell, Texas, to Bryan, August 21, and October 12, 1895; John W. Tomlinson, Birmingham, Alabama, to Bryan, August 26, 1895.

[145] *Nebraska State Journal*, August 13?, 28, 29?, 1895 (Bryan clipping collection, Nebraska State Historical Society). See Bryan papers, letters during 1895 to Bryan from J. B. Osborne, Rawlins, Wyoming, August 14; C. S. Thomas, Denver, August 15; James A. Summett, Portland, Oregon, August 14; J. J. Kelly, Portland, August 24; Adolph Sutro, mayor of San Francisco, September 19; E. C. D. Shortridge, Bismarck, North Dakota, September 24; M. A. Miller, Lebanon, Oregon, n.d. (inspirational oratory).

Figure 8.—Bryan campaign ribbons and badges from the campaign of 1896. In this year, Bryan was nominated by the Democratic Party, the Populist Party, and the National Silver Party which was composed of persons who were devoted to the issue of silver coinage. (Smithsonian photo 48144-K, Becker collection.)

Figure 9.—Bryan campaign ribbon from the campaign of 1896. Arthur Sewell, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, was a wealthy and relatively conservative gentleman from Maine. (Smithsonian photo 48191-E, Becker collection.)

Texas, and Duluth, Minnesota.[146] At Omaha on November 25–26, Bryan served as president of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Conference, devoted to securing favorable legislation for the West.[147] During that winter he lectured in the East, and also made a rapid tour of Colorado, speaking under the auspices of the Rocky Mountain Lyceum on "Our Form of Government and the Ills Which Afflict It."[148] Although he was comforted by some evidence from the East of interest in his cause and himself, Bryan's chief support continued to lie in the West and South, where his evangelical campaigning had its greatest appeal.[149]

One Kansas friend wrote of the contest between good and evil: ". . . The contest upon which we must enter in this country . . . is reduced . . . to a conflict between good and bad men; the honest, the sympathetic, the humane, the true men of the country will stand by the people, come weal, come woe; . . . . The knaves, the moral idiots, the depraved and indescribable scamps . . . will stand for the combines, corporations, the trusts, the consolidated enemies of mankind."[150] To persons who thought in such terms, Bryan's message was very appealing. He also captivated leaders of the organized silver movement.[151]

The evidence does not warrant any firm conclusion regarding the impact of Bryan's lecturing in 1895 and 1896. Several facts are worth noting, however. Toward the end of his travels, Bryan was making valiant efforts to organize the Democratic Convention

[146] Bryan papers, letters to Bryan during 1895 from Charles O. Baldwin, Duluth, on August 20, October 5, and November 1; George R. Laybourn, Duluth, November 8; Charles M. Rosser, Terrell, Texas, November 3; clippings from Duluth *Press*, n.d.

[147] *Nebraska State Journal*, November 27, 1895 (Bryan clippings collection, Nebraska State Historical Society).

[148] Bryan papers, letters from John Marcus Dickey, director of the Rocky Mountain Lyceum, to Bryan, January 6 and 28, 1896.

[149] Bryan was encouraged by messages from the East. See, for example, B. Lundy Kent of Wilmington, Delaware, who wrote: "After hearing you that evening I know you are one of the powers in this great movement for justice & human liberty," February 29, 1896. M. E. Hennessy of *Donahoe's Magazine*, Boston, February 11, 1896, stated: "It may interest you to know that thousands of democratic minds in the East are greatly interested in you and your future."

[150] David Overmyer, Topeka, Kansas, February 29, 1896, to Bryan. Letters from Ray P. Hisey, Rives (Rome), Richland County, Ohio, March 1, and M. L. Becker, Lima, Ohio, April 17, 1896, indicate the substantial grassroots support which developed out of Bryan's tour.

[151] Bryan papers, letters to Bryan from George P. Keeney, secretary, Pacific Coast Branch of the American BiMetallic League, October 22 and December 30, 1895; and Edward B. Light, secretary of the National BiMetallic Union, October 22, December 18 and 26, 1895.

of 1896 in favor of free silver.[152] It is clear that his lecture tours had created much sentiment for Bryan to head the Democratic ticket, despite the opposition of the Administration and the "old guard" of the Party. Of all the potential silver candidates—Richard P. Bland, Ben Tillman, Horace Boies, perhaps others—Bryan was, in many respects, in the most advantageous position. Not being confined by the duties of office or the dignity of party leadership, the young man could campaign vigorously for himself and for his issue. As William Allen White has observed: "He was an attractive figure in those days as he traveled from town to town, from county to county, gathering about him the advocates of fiat money." [153] The moral content of his evangelical message seemed ageless, but his enthusiastic campaign manner was fresh and his optimism buoyant in a nation whose spirit had been jaded and discouraged by a serious economic depression. He had an additional advantage possessed by no other contender: having been a fusionist in Nebraska, he could appeal to Populists and insurgent Republicans as well as Democrats. In a nominating convention which was bound to be relatively open and fluid, Bryan was likely to be one of the strongest darkhorse candidates.

The climax of his campaign for the nomination came early in July at the Democratic Convention, after the basic work had been done and after a divisive struggle over the seating of delegates in which the silver forces had defeated and discredited the Cleveland Administration. The convention was hot, dispirited, and deadlocked: "fortune favored me . . . ," wrote Bryan almost thirty years later.[154] Although, at first, it seemed that he might not have the opportunity to speak, it came at last when he spoke at the close of the debate on the platform. It was a true Bryan campaign speech, the finest of his career, and one of the great orations in American history. To the overheated and discouraged Democratic Party, Bryan's voice rang with emotion and certainty as he declared:

> I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

In the garb of the humble common man, Bryan addressed the Party, pointing out the moral truths of his cause, clarifying and simplifying the silver issue until it became a principle of the purest justice. Thinking again, as he had thought before, of an earlier Democrat, Bryan declared: "What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand, as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of organized wealth." He spoke for the country folk: "Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country." Concluding with a massive and magnificent Biblical phrase, Bryan exclaimed:

> Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.[155]

Bryan had used the expression before; it was part of his campaign repertoire and he "had laid it away for a proper occasion." [156]

The "Cross of Gold" was no new departure for William Jennings Bryan: he had long experience with this sort of oratory. It was a masterpiece of its type—the moral-inspirational-political address combining high emotional content, Biblical phraseology, glittering imagery, and striking analogies. Bryan had probably rehearsed the speech a thousand or more times—in the campaigns of 1888, 1890, 1892, and 1894, on the lecture circuit, and on innumerable patriotic and inspirational occasions. Although the "Cross of Gold" turned the dispirited Democratic Convention into a howling frenzy of enthusiasm, it did not win for the "boy orator" the Party's nomination: that had been substantially won in the preceding year and a half. But the "Cross of Gold" set the tone for Bryan's campaign in 1896. Patterning his national tour after his Nebraska campaigns for J. Sterling Morton and for his own seat in Congress,

[152] Bryan, during the first six months of 1896, received many letters from friends concerning the organization of various state delegations for free silver (see Bryan papers). Bryan was clearly one of the central figures in this movement, and was regarded by many as the leading contender for the nomination.

[153] William Allen White, op. cit. (footnote 120), p. 243.

[154] Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 111.

[155] Bryan, *The First Battle*, pp. 199, 203, and 206.

[156] Bryan, *Memoirs*, p. 103; Hibben, op. cit. (footnote 2), p. 161.

Bryan believed he was making the best possible use of his talents.

This is not the place to retell in detail the story of Bryan's "First Battle." [157] In approximately 100 days, Bryan, according to his own estimate, traveled more than 18,000 miles, most of them by rail, visited 27 States, made approximately 600 speeches, and was seen by an estimated 5,000,000 people.[158] Bryan's effort during this season was the first instance of an intensive personal campaign by a presidential candidate, and it was the first true "whistle stop" railroad campaign. Other candidates had spoken briefly and shaken hands from the rear platforms of their trains, but never before had a presidential aspirant made the "whistle stop" technique into a formal feature of the contest. For more than fifty years after the campaign of 1896, "whistle stop" oratory and campaign trains were nearly synonymous with presidential struggles. To the degree that it inaugurated major innovations in campaigning, Bryan's battle in 1896 was a new departure; but for Bryan himself there was little that was really new. He had applied to the presidential contest essentially those principles he had developed during his years in local and state politics, and his experience on the chautauqua and lyceum circuits.

Figure 10.—Bryan conducted an aggressive tour of the nation during the presidential campaign of 1896, traveling more than 18,000 miles and visiting 27 States. Here, the campaign train halts for a rear-platform appearance of the candidate and Mrs. Bryan at Crestline, Ohio. (William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle*, 1896, facing p. 528.)

Bryan, in 1896, was seemingly indefatigable: he rode dreary trains for hundreds and thousands of miles, and for days on end. Often, he was awakened in the small hours of the morning to wave from his observation platform to enthusiastic crowds gathered at tiny country depots along his route. For much of the trip, he had no special accommodations—just ordinary sleepers and day coaches—but toward the end of the campaign the Democratic National Committee provided, out of its meager funds, a private car for the candidate. He had the good fortune of being able to sleep anywhere and, apparently, at any time. He was a trial to newspaper men on his campaign journeys, for he frequently arose early in the morning to greet his admirers or make nearly impossible train connections. His long days of campaigning wore heavily on the reporters.[159]

As in his earlier political travels, Bryan particularly enjoyed speaking in small towns where his efforts seemed especially successful. His trip through Iowa at the very beginning of the campaign probably typified his small-town speaking techniques. The hostile *New York Times* reported that "Bryan improves many opportunities to talk and say nothing." Speaking at almost every little station on the railroad, he was cut short on numerous occasions because of the train schedule, although at more important places he was able to make more significant statements. At Davenport, Bryan admitted, "I promised myself that I would not do any talking on the road, but the presence of so many enthusiasts presents a temptation which I am not able to withstand." No doubt receptions such as that at West Liberty, Iowa, where a "brass band and 500 people received the nominee," encouraged him to talk. Among other things, Bryan said,

> I am very glad to see you and to give you a chance to meet a candidate. I believe that it is the duty of any person who is a candidate for office to become acquainted with the people whom he is to serve if elected . . . . A person chosen is nothing but a hired man, no matter how exalted the office or how lowly.[160]

Elsewhere the pattern was much the same. During

[157] In view of Bryan's long experience in campaigning, it is scarcely accurate to describe the struggle of 1896 as a "first battle."

[158] Bryan, *The First Battle*, p. 618.

[159] Matthew Josephson, op. cit. (footnote 4), pp. 688–707; Charles Willis Thompson, *Presidents I've Known and Two Near Presidents* (Indianapolis, 1929), pp. 76–88.

[160] *The New York Times*, August 9, 1896, p. 2.

his overnight trip from Chicago to Pittsburgh. Bryan was called upon to speak many times. At South Chicago,

> The lateness of the hour did not keep a big crowd from gathering at One Hundredth Street. The crowd had a brass band, and were prepared to give the heartiest sort of a reception to the nominee, but the train moved off just as he appeared on the platform.

At Valparaiso, Indiana, more than an hour later, Bryan "made a hasty toilet, and went to the platform, where he was again cheered."[161] The popularity of his brief small-town appearances was emphasized by the apparent failure of his tedious and learned acceptance oration at Madison Square Garden, New York City, in the heart of the "enemy's country."

But as the campaign went on, its extraordinary pace began to tell upon the candidate. His voice lost its power for several days in New York State and Pennsylvania, and little wonder that it did. For example, Bryan arrived at Erie, Pennsylvania, in the evening after a full day of vigorous campaigning to find three separate audiences waiting to hear him. He did not disappoint his friends, although some may have had difficulty in hearing his remarks, for "his voice was somewhat hoarse, but otherwise he appeared to be in good condition."[162] On many days of his trip, Bryan spoke again and again, for twelve, fourteen, even sixteen almost solid hours.[163] A typical city campaign began with the candidate's arrival at the railroad depot, a reception or perhaps a meal which might come before or after his address, his procession to a park or a hall for the speech, and his hurried departure to keep the next engagement for which he was almost certain to be late. Late in September, the candidate traveled from Bath, Maine, to New York City, taking 24 hours for the journey, speaking at many towns, and winding up his labors with huge rallies at Paterson and Newark, New Jersey.[164] The next night, while trying to attend a giant labor rally in Union Square, New York City, Bryan collapsed. Near the close of the campaign, he made some seventy speeches in four days, with about 1,400 miles of travel, in Michigan. He met such huge crowds that, at one point, Mrs. Bryan was almost left behind because she was caught in a jam of people as the train pulled out. There was no time for fresh thinking, or for an evaluation of what had gone before with such a tight schedule, and the speeches were essentially what they had been for weeks.[165] During the last week of the campaign, Bryan made a three-day whirlwind tour of Chicago, then set out, following an indirect route, to his home at Lincoln. On the day before the election itself, as if to emphasize the character of his extraordinary campaign, Bryan traveled 344 miles, making many short speeches, for "the meetings were so short that no extended argument was possible . . . ."[166] His last day of campaigning took the candidate through some of the territory where he had first tried his youthful skills—through the heart of Nebraska where he had spoken and debated and gained sudden, remarkable fame eight years earlier, where he had developed and perfected the pattern of campaigning which had contributed so much to bring him one of the most coveted honors in national politics. *The New York Times* seemed relieved as it summarized Bryan's efforts: the "long and hardworking campaign" is over, stated the paper; the candidate had taken only four weeks off between July 13 and November 2; he had spoken in 27 States; he had probably made more than 25 speeches in three or more days; he had carried out an exhausting campaign and the newsmen seemed to mirror his exhaustion.[167] William Jennings

[161] Ibid., August 11, 1896, p. 3.

[162] Ibid., August 28, 1896, p. 6.

[163] Ibid., September 15, 1896, p. 3, containing a report of a 14-hour trip from St. Louis to Louisville.

[164] Ibid., September 29, 1896, p. 3.

[165] Ibid., October 18, 1896, p. 3.

[166] BRYAN, *The First Battle*, pp. 602–604.

[167] *The New York Times*, November 2, 1896, p. 1. There is a striking similarity between Bryan's "whistle stop" campaign of 1896 and the national tour of President Harry S Truman in 1948. Bryan in 1896 and Truman in 1948 labored almost single-handedly against overwhelming odds in their direct appeals to the nation's voters. Bryan lost, Truman won, but both candidates conducted intensive personal campaigns geared to the level of the ordinary voters. It is interesting that both of these presidential aspirants were midwesterners, and that both were professional politicians, trained in the rough and tumble school of politics. Although their value systems differed somewhat, and their messages were not alike, both men sensed the effectiveness of personal campaigning. Truman unexpectedly captured important support from the rural Midwest by using techniques similar to those used by Bryan more than fifty years before. For accounts of Truman's campaign in 1948 see HARRY S TRUMAN, *Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope* (New York: Garden City, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 210–219; RICHARD ROVERE's reports on the campaign trains in the *New Yorker*, October 9 and 16, 1948. A delightful running account of the Truman "whistle stop" tour may be found in MARGARET TRUMAN (with Margaret Cousins), *Margaret Truman's Own Story: Souvenir* (New York: McGraw, 1956), pp. 211–239. Miss Truman traveled with her father over most of the campaign route, and has vivid recollections of the trip.

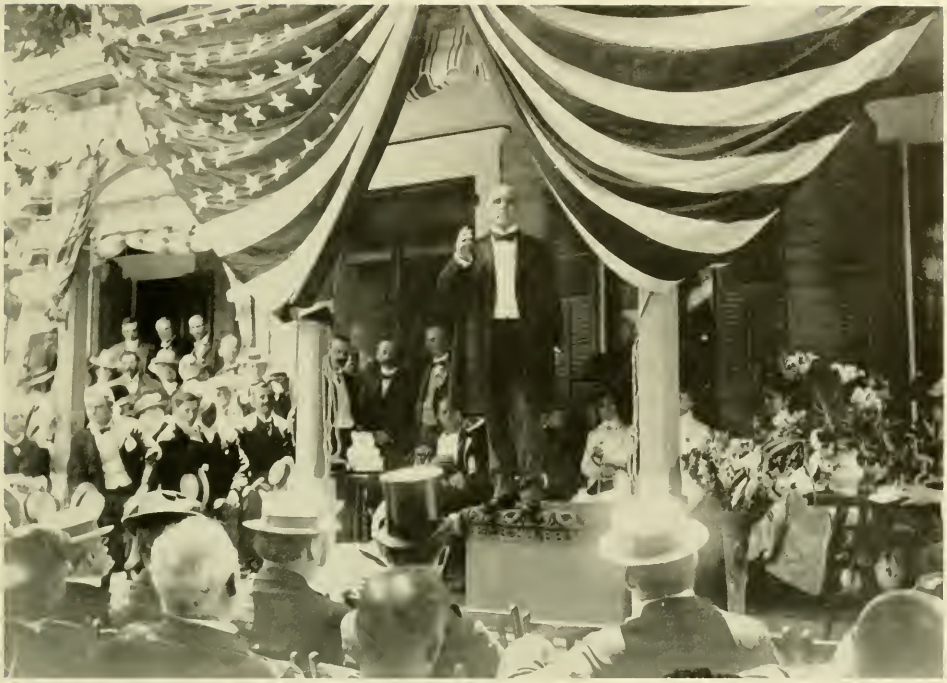


Figure 11.—A "FRONT PORCH" CAMPAIGN conducted at his home in Canton, Ohio, was Republican nominee William McKinley's response to Bryan's vigorous campaign tour in 1896. Republican managers arranged for thousands of voters to travel to Canton to hear the candidate deliver thoughtful and well-prepared addresses on the issues of the day. In this scene, McKinley presents his speech accepting the presidential nomination. Immediately behind the candidate, with his hand resting on a cane, is Mark Hanna, McKinley's campaign manager. (In the collection of Mrs. Grace Dick Williams of Akron, Ohio.)

Bryan had broken most of the established precedents of presidential campaigning.

The efforts made by Republican leaders in 1896 to meet Bryan's threat were nearly as remarkable as the Nebraskan's campaign. To combat "Bryanism," Mark Hanna, the campaign manager for William McKinley, set out to raise the largest war chest used to that time in a presidential contest. By levying tribute upon corporations and wealthy individuals, Hanna succeeded in acquiring a sum large enough to hire some 1,400 stump speakers, and publish millions of antisilver documents to counteract the effect of Bryan's remarkable national tour. McKinley, who still adhered to the tradition of presidential dignity, would not take the stump himself, but he did agree to speak to delegations of supporters who traveled to his home at Canton, Ohio. Hanna organized this front-porch campaign in an unprecedented manner, making arrangements for hundreds of groups representing diverse interests to make the trip to Canton. Any group wishing to hear McKinley had to be in touch with the candidate beforehand, giving details about its membership and sending a copy of the greeting to be presented by its leader, in order that the candidate might prepare remarks appropriate to the occasion. The railroads alone brought 507,000 persons, most of

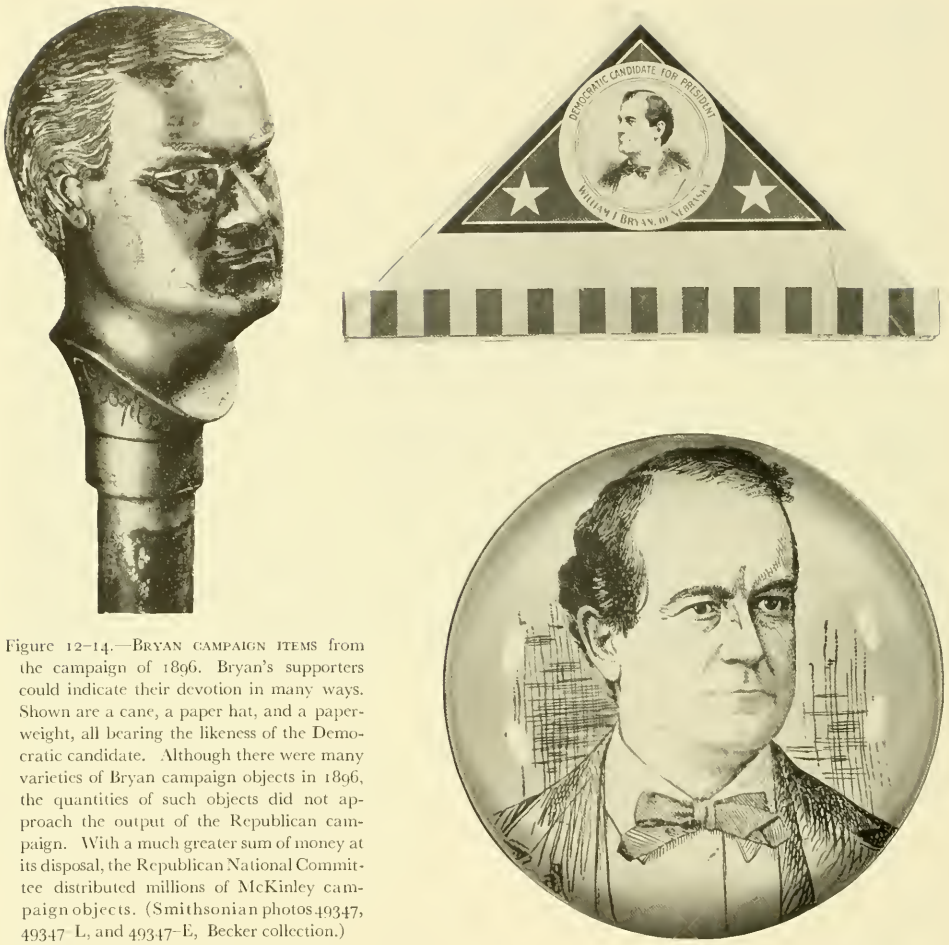


Figure 12–14.—Bryan campaign items from the campaign of 1896. Bryan's supporters could indicate their devotion in many ways. Shown are a cane, a paper hat, and a paperweight, all bearing the likeness of the Democratic candidate. Although there were many varieties of Bryan campaign objects in 1896, the quantities of such objects did not approach the output of the Republican campaign. With a much greater sum of money at its disposal, the Republican National Committee distributed millions of McKinley campaign objects. (Smithsonian photos 49347, 49347–L, and 49347–E, Becker collection.)

them in trains especially hired for the purpose, to hear McKinley. In this way, the candidate was able to control his audience, he knew exactly how to address each group, and most of the danger of error was taken out of the campaign. McKinley lost no dignity—he was not subjected to the misfortune of mingling with the crowds. Hanna developed an immense, yet tightly knit, machine which was closely in touch with local political situations throughout the country and was able to concentrate and shift its efforts in the various regions of the nation, according to need.[168]

Not only was Bryan confronted with a remarkably aggressive Republican campaign, he also faced a division within his own party. On September 2, the Democratic old guard convened at Indianapolis to

[168] William G. Spielman, *William McKinley, Stalwart Republican* (New York, 1954), pp. 92–94; Charles G. Dawes, op. cit. (footnote 41), pp. 65–107; Herbert Croly, op. cit. (footnote 7), pp. 209–227; Josephson, op. cit. (footnote 4), pp. 688–707.

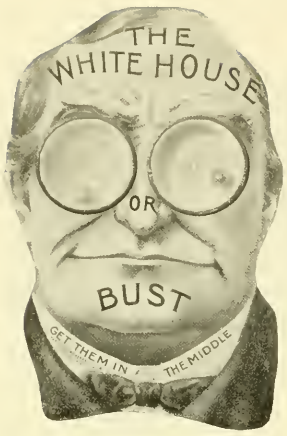
denounce the Bryan platform, to assert the fidelity of true Democrats to the gold standard and the conservative principles of Grover Cleveland. "The Democratic party has not yet surrendered to populism and anarchy," declared a New York leader. Another conservative announced: "We are the propagandists of no new creed. We are the upholders of the old. We appeal from Democracy drunk with delusion to Democracy sobered by reason." The gold Democrats, or "National Democrats," as they called themselves, nominated Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice President. The new party campaigned bitterly against Bryan, cooperating with Republicans and encouraging "Jeffersonian" Democrats to vote for McKinley. Conservatives from both parties rallied to battle against Bryan's undignified, but strenuous and apparently effective campaign efforts.[169]

On November 3, a majority of the ballots were cast against Bryan: he received 6,492,559 popular votes, while McKinley received 7,102,246. The electoral count was even more lopsided: 176 to 271. But if he had lost, he had waged an extraordinarily active fight, obtaining more popular votes in losing than any previous victorious candidate. Although McKinley won every state north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, plus a few western states, West Virginia, and half of Kentucky (because of the closeness of the balloting, Kentucky's electoral votes were divided between the candidates), a change of 19,436 votes perfectly distributed in six states would have given victory to Bryan. Moreover, the gold Democrats attracted 133,148 votes, most of which would normally have gone to the regular party nominee. The question remains: was Bryan's strategy in 1896 appropriate? How accurate was Mark Hanna's famous statement, "He's talking free silver all the time; that's where we've got him"? To some degree, Bryan was hindered by his own commitment to the silver issue: he could not readily switch to other ideas when silver ceased to shine, or where gold was in favor. The evangelical flavor of Bryan's campaign was an asset in some areas of the country, but it fell on unattuned ears in large sections of the East. And his individual exertions, while they were dramatic and impressive, did not fill the need for the careful nurturing of converts which a well-developed political machine could accomplish. Here, the Republicans had a real advantage in possessing Hanna's competent, extensive, and well-financed organization. A few words here, a few dollars there, could strike fear into the hearts of laboring men and change votes.

Figure 15.—Pressed glass mugs from the campaign of 1896. The slogans "Protection and Prosperity," and "The People's Money" emphasized the differing points of view of the two candidates. (Smithsonian photo 49346-B, Becker collection.)

Had Bryan been more flexible in his emphasis on the issues and his manner of presentation, and had he been possessed of a unified, well-organized, well-financed political machine, the outcome of the balloting in 1896 might have been quite different. Despite its limitations, however, his campaign strategy in 1896 appears in retrospect surprisingly effective. In view of the obstacles to his election, Bryan's showing was truly remarkable. He represented a national party which had been divided and discredited by an economic depression and a lack-luster administration: he battled almost singlehandedly with scarcely any financial support against the majority party of the nation which conducted a tremendously expensive campaign to defeat him; and he fought against a strong, well-financed wing of his own party. To some extent, the moral victory was his, although his opponent won the Presidency. It was Bryan's misfortune that he never came closer to the highest office. The campaign of 1896 was his most successful political battle in his three great attempts to reach the Presidency.

[169] Bryan, *The First Battle*, pp. 386–387



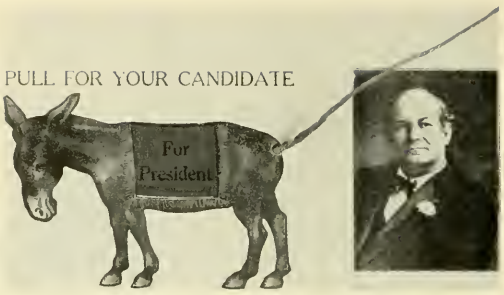


Figure 16 and 17.—Two Bryan campaign novelties from the campaign of 1896 that are in a lighter vein. By campaigning three times for the Presidency, Bryan had a substantial impact upon the practice of presidential campaigning, increasing the role of the candidate himself. (Smithsonian photos 48191-P and 49455, Becker collection.)

The Efforts Assayed

Bryan's campaign style grew out of his evangelical religious background, his genuine commitment to popular democracy, and his years of political experience. In practice, Bryan relied upon his remarkable voice to enunciate the popular idiom, his personal dynamism and friendliness, and his tremendous physical endurance to reach people throughout the county, the congressional district, the State, or the Nation. The pattern had been established by 1890, and it remained essentially the same through all three of Bryan's presidential contests.

At the same time that they brought him power and glory, Bryan's campaign methods deceived him: many of the people who gathered to listen and cheer were only curious, not converted. It is probable that Bryan's apparent personal success with the crowds discouraged the building of a strong and effective political machine for his support. His insistence on a single type of campaign brought a relatively high degree of inflexibility to his efforts: the personal, "folksy," evangelical campaign was not necessarily suitable for all occasions and in all localities. In certain parts of the East, Bryan impressed his opponents with his limitations—his lack of sophistication, the superficiality of his learning, and his apparent demagoguery.

Bryan's presidential campaigns had important consequences for other aspirants to the highest office. No candidate could afford to ignore the precedents set by his three great efforts; no longer could presidential nominees rely on the dignity of the office to protect them from involvement in campaigning. Bryan was one of the first politicians to take serious advantage of the national transportation network. To a considerable degree, he raised the level of campaigning by moving the candidate into the spotlight, where mudslinging and backroom maneuvering were less appropriate than they had been when candidates stayed out of the public view; and it is perhaps significant that Bryan's appearance on the national political scene coincided with an aggressive drive to clean up politics on all levels—the progressive era.[170] Bryan's personal style of campaigning struck a deathblow at the gadgets and pageantry which seemed to dominate American politics during the 1880's. His emphasis during the campaign on his own personality and on certain basic issues continued in the campaigns of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and still later during the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's. There is little doubt that the concentration

[170] To some extent Bryan was a bridge between the earlier period of agricultural discontent, with its Populism and evangelism, and the more broadly based Progressive movement. Bryan represented Progressive principles in his drive to purify politics, to bring ethics into practice in public affairs. Many of the specific proposals of his platforms were embodied in Progressive legislative programs. Free silver was *not* one of them.

upon the mechanics of politics— marching societies, empty ceremonies, participation for its own sake, the development of innumerable political gadgets—was made obsolete by the Bryan campaign pattern.

Bryan's impact upon presidential politics was not all gain, however. A political struggle which revolves around the personalities of two candidates may be more bitter than a contest between rival organizations. As in Bryan's case, the candidate may be captivated by his apparent personal influence and neglect the important task of building an effective political organization. The most colorful and appealing campaigners are not necessarily the ablest leaders for their parties or for the nation. To the extent that the personal campaign is physically exhausting, the candidate cannot appear always at his best, and the struggle for office may actually be detrimental to his health. He may be forced to take rigid positions on issues with respect to which he should be free from commitments. The issues which are argued in the campaign are not necessarily important or "real"; they may have been developed merely for obtaining office, or they may involve unrealistic solutions to significant problems. Bryan's "free silver" agitation is an example of the latter situation and, possibly, the former. And, finally, personal campaigning is liable to descend to the level of a popularity contest with little genuine significance in terms of realistic choice for the electorate.

Professor Clinton Rossiter in his study of the functions and implications of our highest office, *The American Presidency*, has distinguished a number of presidential roles. Among them are the constitutional galaxy—Chief of State, Chief Executive, Chief Diplomat, Commander in Chief, and Chief Legislator. But the Presidency involves certain critical extra-constitutional roles which tend to make that office the most significant position in the world today. Two of these roles, that of "chief of party" and that of "voice of the people," seem to have direct relevance to the campaign pattern of William Jennings Bryan. Following a series of Presidents who were reluctant to assert their influence within their own parties, Bryan set out to capture the leadership of the Democratic Party. Although he did not become President, Bryan was certainly the principal national leader of his party for more than a dozen years.[171] His strong appeal to the American people through the medium of personal

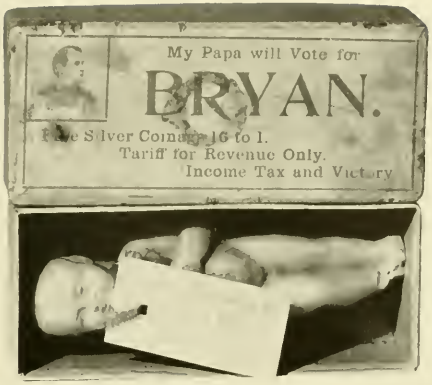


Figure 18.—Bryan soap doll from the campaign of 1896. Campaign novelties such as this one communicated the issues of the contest in a humorous manner and had a wide appeal. (Smithsonian photo 48595-G, Becker collection.)

campaigning gave him tremendous power within the Party. But even more than its influence on party leadership, Bryan's campaign style was important in the development of the President's function as "the Voice of the People, the leading formulator and expounder of public opinion in the United States." [172] In both theory and practice, Bryan's campaign technique required a high degree of candidate-voter contact. Bryan loved to meet the people, for he believed that the essence of democracy lay in the person-to-person relationship: having proven himself in this most basic democratic situation, the candidate was qualified to represent on the national scene the views of the people as he interpreted them—qualified, in short, to be the voice of the people. The particular innovations which Bryan introduced into the presidential campaign tended to expand the direct relationship between the political leader and his following. Instead of consulting with party leaders, Bryan campaigned for the votes and the adulation of the public: hence, he was responsible to the public rather than to the leaders.

It would be folly to assume that responsibility to the Nation is exclusive of responsibility to party. Ideally,

[171] Glad, op. cit. (footnote 2), ch. 7.

[172] Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency* (New American Library edition, New York, 1956), p. 22.

both roles coincide, and the President serves the best interests of his partisan followers by serving the people as a whole. William Jennings Bryan did not combine these features ideally; perhaps his weaknesses in the area of political organization cost him the Presidency. Nevertheless, he asserted personal leadership of the National Democratic Party, and he insisted that the candidate should be responsible to the electorate. In practice, the Bryan campaign technique performed both of these functions, gaining for him the position of national party leader and providing a direct connection between the leader and the Nation as a whole. And the Presidents during the 20th century who have seemingly been most effective in the role of voice of the people have campaigned aggressively and personally, just as Bryan did. The fact that they went out to the people, courting public favor during their drives for the highest office, apparently created a relationship of responsibility between candidates and people which pre-Bryan candidates, for the most part, did not have. The personal campaign has become an essential ingredient of 20th-century presidential leadership. Thus, Bryan's campaign style has played a significant role in the development of the modern Presidency.

The questions remain: were Bryan's innovations significant for the technique of presidential campaigning? Were the changes which he introduced of great magnitude or were they relatively minor? Was Bryan a major inventor; were his campaign techniques original or did he borrow and adapt methods developed by others? These questions can never be answered absolutely, yet they are important questions for any final judgment of Bryan and his contribution to American politics and presidential campaigning. Bryan adopted the traditional techniques of stump speaking and local area canvassing which were common in the rural Midwest, but he added his own special physical equipment—an extraordinary powerful yet melodious voice and a tremendously energetic body. Coupled with his physique were Bryan's commitments to evangelical morality and direct democracy, ideas which had grown out of his Midwestern upbringing. Neither his physical nor his intellectual storehouses were unique, yet he fused the two in a new synthesis which became known to some as "Bryanism."

Figure 19.—Bryan campaign song emphasizing the youth and the western origin of the candidate. (Smithsonian photo 49346 C, Becker collection.)

Bryan did not invent his campaign techniques independently, but he did adapt already existing campaign patterns in a unique fashion to the presidential contest. In this sense, he was an innovator and his contributions were totally new. And judging by the effect that his aggressive personal campaign style has had upon the presidential battlefield itself, and, more fundamentally, upon the Presidency, it must be concluded that the campaign techniques of William Jennings Bryan have been, indeed, a significant innovation in American politics. Although he never achieved his highest political ambitions, Bryan changed American politics in a significant manner. He did not accomplish the change singlehandedly, but more than any other single person he is responsible for the prevalence of the personal campaign in presidential politics.

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The Museum of History and Technology:
Paper 47

Presentation Pieces In the Museum of History and Technology

Margaret Brown Klapthor

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19th-century pieces 85
20th-century pieces 99

Figure 1.—Miniature ship presented to Adm. Robert E. Peary by the Royal Scottish Geographical Society. Loan of Robert E. Peary. In Division of Naval History. (Acc. 52878, cat. 12185; Smithsonian photo 45992.)

Margaret Brown Klapthor

Presentation Pieces

In the Museum of History and Technology

As a social document, the collection of presentation pieces, mostly silver, in the United States National Museum provides evidence of the taste and craftsmanship in America at various periods from the mid-18th century to the 1920's.

Although the representative items selected for illustration confirm the view that such pieces often lack artistic merit, the collection nevertheless reveals the deeds—in war, politics, technology, diplomacy, sports—that our forebears deemed worthy of special recognition. And it helps to bring alive some figures now submerged in our ever-expanding history.

THE AUTHOR: *Margaret Brown Klapthor is associate curator of political history in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.*

THE CUSTOM OF GIVING A PIECE OF SILVER to an individual in recognition of service or in appreciation of accomplishment probably began as soon as man developed the fashioning of that metal into objects. Such a presentation piece was a tangible and durable form of recognition which could be appreciated, used, displayed, and enjoyed by the recipient. Many of these silver pieces became for succeeding generations the cherished evidence of recognition accorded to an ancestor, and they were preserved long after the more customary family silver had worn out or been lost.

The Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology has what may well be the most varied and extensive collection of such presentation pieces ever to be preserved and exhibited in one place. The collection contains the work of some of the more prominent American silversmiths, but most of the pieces are by lesser known makers and are in the collection because of historic interest rather than artistic merit. The chief usefulness of the collection lies in its value as a social document and in the mute evidence it gives of the taste and craftsmanship of the periods covered. The collection is also helpful in dating type specimens that do not have specific associations with persons and dates. Perhaps even more interesting than the gamut of styles that the collection presents is the panorama of deeds, events, and persons that our forebears considered worthy of recognition. Silver presentation pieces were awarded to persons in almost every walk of life—to military men, to peace-loving Indians, and to men who achieved success in politics and agriculture. They were given for sea rescues, for heroic deeds by firemen and school-patrol boys, and for outstanding community and civic work. Within our time they have been given as trophies for excellence in athletics, automobile racing, and many other events.

Figure 2.—Snuffbox inlaid with mother-of-pearl and horn made around 1769 by William Cario, who worked in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The box measures 2⅞ x 2⅛ x ½ inches. Bequest of Arthur Michaels. In Division of Cultural History. (Acc. 162866, cat. 383486; Smithsonian photo 36041.)

18th-Century Pieces

Silversmiths have been making presentation pieces from the earliest days of our country, but the Smithsonian Institution has only a few 18th-century pieces in its collection.

* * *

The earliest of these is an inlaid silver snuffbox (fig. 2) made by William Cario, who worked in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, about 1763. The oval box—evidently a gift to the silversmith's second wife, Lydia Croxford, whom he married in 1768—has inscribed on its base "The property of Lydia Cario" and "1769." The cover has an undersurface of horn, and the silver on the outer surface is inlaid with mother-of-pearl and tortoise shell in a filigree pattern.

* * *

Many of the earliest pieces of presentation silver were made for use in churches, and they were given by groups as well as by individuals. Representative of this type is a silver alms plate [1] with the following inscription on the rim:

The Gift of the Hon^{ble} THOMAS HANCOCK ESQ^{R} to the CHURCH in Brattle Street Boston 1764.

The plate is shallow with a slightly domed center. Engraved on the flat rim, in addition to the inscription, is a crest at the top and the cherub's head at the bottom. The piece is marked by John Coburn, who lived in Boston from 1725 to 1803. Five trays matching this one are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[2]

* * *

A silver tankard made by Samuel Minott, who worked in Boston from about 1765 to 1803, can be accurately placed by the account of ownership thoughtfully inscribed on its base by one of its later owners. The legend reads:

Richard Derby to E. S. Hasket Derby 1763
John Derby
George Derby 1831
Roger Derby 1874

The tankard has a tapered, ringed body, an S-shaped handle with a plain boss at the end, a scroll thumbpiece, a flat molded drop ornament on the handle, and a domed cover with an acorn finial. On the body beneath the Derby coat of arms, is monogrammed "E H D" for Elias Hasket Derby (fig. 3). Elias Hasket Derby achieved wealth and fame as a Salem merchant prince engaged in the China trade.

* * *

[1] Bequest of Arthur Michaels (acc. 162866, cat. 383497), Division of Cultural History, USNM.

[2] E. Alfred Jones, *The Old Silver of American Churches* (National Society of Colonial Dames of America, 1913), pp. 68–69 and pl. 27.

Figure 3.—Mark of Samuel Minott and monogram of Elias Hasket Derby on silver tankard. Bequest of Arthur Michaels. In Division of Cultural History. (Acc. 162866, cat. 383545; Smithsonian photos 44828-D, 44828-F.)

Similar in design to these 18th-century pieces is a standing cup [3] or chalice with the inscription:

Presented by the Sisters of the New South Church for its communion service—January 1, 1815.

This cup, with a concave body and a baluster stem with a square foot, is marked "Moulton" and is in the style of Ebenezer Moulton who worked in Boston between 1768 and 1824.

19th-Century Pieces

The collections of the United States National Museum that cover the political, cultural, military, and technological history of America in the 19th century are probably without rival, and the collection of presentation silver is no exception. The recognition of military prowess by the presentation of silver objects was especially popular during this century.

FOR SERVICE IN WAR OF 1812

Some handsome pieces of silver of the federal style were given for service in the War of 1812. Historically the most important of these is a mammoth punch set (fig. 4) presented to Colonel George Armistead by the citizens of Baltimore in recognition of his services in the defense of Fort McHenry against the British attack in 1814. The service includes an oval silver tray with a handle on each end, the whole of which is supported on six winged-claw feet. The tray is 29 inches long and 22 inches wide.

The ball-shaped punch bowl, 12½ inches in diameter, is supported by four eagles mounted on a round base. There is a loop handle of silver rope on each side. The bowl is an exact copy in size and design of the mortar bombs the British hurled at the fort. On one side of the bowl is the following inscription:

Presented by a number of the citizens of Baltimore to Lieutenant Colonel George Armistead for his gallant and successful defense of Fort McHenry during the bombardment by a large British Force, on the 12th and 13th September 1814 when upwards of 1500 shells were thrown; 400 of which fell within the area of the Fort and some of them of the diameter of this vase.

(Note the discrepancy in the dates of the inscription. The Battle of Fort McHenry was fought on the 13th and 14th of September 1814.)

On the other side is engraved a view of Fort McHenry

[3] Bequest of Arthur Michaels (acc. 162866, cat. 383549), Division of Cultural History, USNM.

Figure 4.—Punch set presented to Col. George Armistead by the citizens of Baltimore in recognition of his services in the defense of Fort McHenry against the British in 1814. Gift of Alexander Gordon, Jr., great-grandson of the recipient. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 6642, cats. 30914–17; Smithsonian photo P–64357.)

and Baltimore Harbor. The bowl is marked by Thomas Fletcher and Sidney Gardiner, silversmiths who worked in Philadelphia from 1814 to 1838. In regard to the excellence of the work of these silversmiths, there is an interesting comment in a diary of Philip Hone that is owned by the New-York Historical Society. On February 14, 1838, Hone wrote:

> Fletcher and Co. are the artist who made the Clinton vases. Nobody in this "world" of ours hereabouts can compete with them in their kind of work.[4]

[4] H. Maxson Holloway, "American Presentation Silver," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (October 1946), vol. 30, p. 228.

In the set are ten silver cups, each 3¼ inches high and 3 inches in diameter. The cups have the same rounded shape as the bowl, without the loop handles, and are marked on the bottom by Andrew E. Warner, a silversmith who was working in Baltimore from 1805 until his death in 1870.

The ladle, in the same shape as the cups, is also marked by Warner.

During the defense of Fort McHenry Colonel Armistead had under him about 1,000 men, including soldiers, sailors, and volunteers. It is said he was the only man aware of the alarming fact that the powder magazine was not bombproof. During the night of September 13 the fort was under constant

bombardment by the enemy, but the attack failed. Discouraged by the loss of the British general in land action, and finding that the shallow water and sunken ships prevented a close approach to the city by water, the British fleet withdrew. Fort McHenry was but little damaged and loss of life was small.

* * *

Closely related to this punch set is a covered tureen (fig. 5) that the citizens of Baltimore gave to Commodore John Rodgers, U.S.N., for his part in the defense of Baltimore in September 1814. During the battle of North Point and the attack on Fort McHenry, the naval forces under Commodore Rodgers defended the water battery, the auxiliary forts Covington and Babcock, and the barges of the naval flotilla.

The oval-shaped tureen is mounted on a square base that stands on four winged feet. The piece is 15 inches high. The handles at each end are supported by eagles' heads. An applied design of flying horses

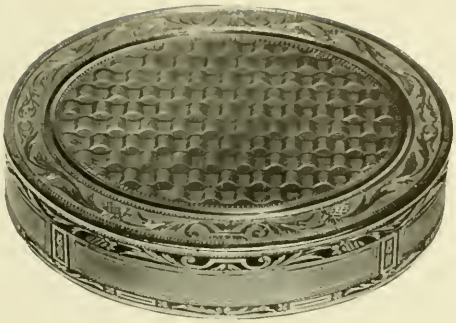

Figure 6.—Gold snuffbox presented to Maj. Gen. Jacob Brown by the City of New York in recognition of his services in the War of 1812. Gift of Mrs. Susan Brown Chase. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 116682, cat. 37664; Smithsonian photo 57009.)

Figure 5.—Tureen presented to Com. John Rodgers by the citizens of Baltimore for his part in the defense of the city against the British in 1814. Bequest of Gen. M. C. Meigs. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 25386, cat. 5863; Smithsonian photo P-64357-A.)

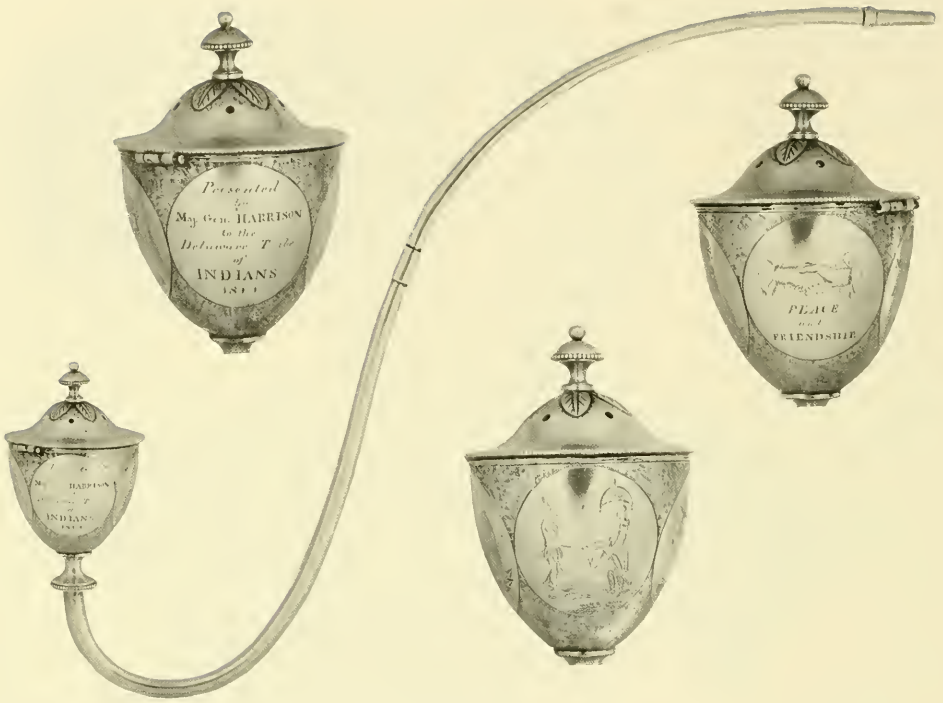

Figure 7.—Peace pipe presented to the Delaware Indians by Gen. William Henry Harrison in 1814. Bequest of Victor J. Evans. In Bureau of American Ethnology. (Acc. 113604, cat. 362061; Smithsonian photos 44571, 44571-A.)

and winged cherub heads makes an attractive border around the edge of the tureen. The knob on the cover of the tureen is a stylized bunch of grapes. On the inside of the bottom of the base is inscribed:

Presented by the citizens of Baltimore to Commodore John Rodgers in testimony of their sense of the important aid afforded by him in the defense of Baltimore on the 12th and 13th of Sept'r, 1814.

This piece too bears the mark of Philadelphia silversmiths Fletcher and Gardiner.

* * *

The gold snuffbox presented to Major General Jacob Brown by the City of New York in recognition of his services in the War of 1812 does not fall strictly within the province of this article, but it is included because it is similar to the silver pieces just described. The exterior of the box (fig. 6) is beautifully chased in a line design. The inside of the lid is inscribed as follows:

The Corporation of the City of New York to Major General Jacob Brown in testimony of the high sense they entertain of his valor and skill in defeating the British forces superior in number, at the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater on the 5th and 25th of July, 1814.

FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

Unusual in the Museum's collection of presentation silver is the treaty pipe (fig. 7) formally presented to the Delaware Indians in 1814 by General William Henry Harrison at the conclusion of the second Treaty of Greenville.

The treaty was intended to commit the Indians to active resistance in the American cause during the War of 1812. General Harrison and Lewis Cass had

been appointed commissioners by the U.S. Government to conclude the treaty. On July 8, 1814, General Harrison read to the Indians a message from the President of the United States, and afterward he presented to the Wyandotte, Delaware, and Shawnee Indian tribes large silver pipes elegantly ornamented and engraved with emblems signifying the protection and friendship of the United States.[5]

The pipe presented to the Delaware Indians has an urn-shaped bowl with a bead-edged cover bearing acanthus-leaf decorations. The S-shaped stem is 21 inches long and only one-fourth inch in diameter. The great length of the stem was necessary to cool the smoke; the S-shape added rigidity to the silver. The piece undoubtedly is the work of a competent craftsman but it bears no identifying mark.[6]

* * *

Although not exactly a pipe of peace, another pipe in the collections of the Museum represents a gesture of friendship between nations. It is a meerschaum pipe [7] with a silver lid on the bowl and with a silver mouthpiece. The lid bears this inscription:

This pipe was presented to Sir Frederick Hankey by the Grand Vizier of Turkey at Constantinople in the year 1830 and to Thomas Hankey Esq^re^ by the Daughter of Sir Frederick and by him to Charles Alexander Esq^re^ 9th March, 1873.

The only information that has been obtained about Hankey is that he held an official position as Chief Secretary of Malta for the British Government.

FOR POLITICS

In 1838 the Whig Young Men of New York City presented to Robert Charles Wetmore a pair of large, ornate, silver pitchers [8] inscribed:

To Robert Charles Wetmore their late Chairman from the General Committee of Whig Young Men of the City of New York a Memorial of political fellowship, a token of personal esteem and a tribute of patriotic service 1838.

The bases of the pitchers are engraved:

Presented to Chas Fredk Wetmore by his father, January 1st, 1840.

These pitchers were made by Geradus Boyce, a New York silversmith who worked in the first half of the 19th century.

FOR SERVICE IN THE MEXICAN, CIVIL, AND INDIAN WARS

Most of these pieces, like the pitchers mentioned above, are not so pleasing aesthetically as the earlier ones, and they are much more closely allied with the exuberance of the Victorian era than they are with the classical lines of the Federal period.

* * *

A large, elaborate vase [9] with two handles and a cover was presented to Major General Silas Casey, U.S.A., in recognition of his services during the Mexican War. The vase is inscribed:

To Capt. Silas Casey, 2 inf. U.S.A. For his bravery and skill at Contreras, Churubusco and other battles of Mexico; for his gallant leading of the storming party of Regulars at Chapultepec where he was severely wounded. The gift of citizens of his native town and others, E. Greenwich, Rhode Island, August 1848.

The vase is marked on the bottom with box-enclosed letters "G & H" and "1848." The letters probably refer to Gale and Hughes, New York silversmiths, or perhaps to Gale and Hayden, who were in business about the same time.

Casey, a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, received votes of thanks from the Rhode Island legislature for his services in both the Mexican and Civil Wars.

* * *

Lieutenant Colonel John Bankhead Magruder was given a silver pitcher by his friends in Baltimore for his Mexican War service. The pitcher [10] is urn-shaped, has a long, narrow neck, and stands on a tall base. The entire pitcher is elaborate repoussé in a design of roses, sunflowers, and grapes. An arched and turreted castle is depicted on each side, and on the center front is the inscription:

Presented to Lt. Col. J. Bankhead Magruder by his Baltimore friends as a token of their appreciation of his Meritorious Services in the Mexican War, October 16, 1849.

---

[5] "The Journal of the Proceedings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, Appointed on Behalf of the United States to Treat with the Northwestern Tribes of Indians," *American State Papers . . . Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, pp. 826–836.

[6] G. Carroll Lindsay, "The Treaty Pipe of the Delawares," *Antiques* (1958), vol. 74, no. 1, pp. 44–45.

[7] Gift of Thomsen H. Alexander (acc. 63880, cat. 22995), Division of Political History, USNM.

[8] Bequest of Amy Wetmore May (acc. 190331, cat. 387945), Division of Political History, USNM.

[9] Gift of Estate of Sophie P. Casey (acc. 171620, cat. 44364), Division of Political History, USNM.

[10] Bequest of Henry R. Magruder (acc. 47577, cat. 10793), Division of Political History, USNM.

Figure 8.—Silver service given to Maj. Gen. John Hatch by the citizens of Oswego, New York. Gift of Mark Burckle Hatch. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 59476, cats. 16024–16026; Smithsonian photo 38259.)

On the inside of the base are the marks "S. Kirk & Son" and "11 oz."

Magruder graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1830, and his military career encompassed service under three flags within a period of 35 years. In the Mexican War he was brevetted major for gallantry at Cerro Gordo and lieutenant colonel for Chapultepec, where he was severely wounded. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Colonel Magruder, a native of Virginia, entered the Confederate Army and was soon placed in command of the Department of Texas, where he served until the close of the war. He then entered the army of Maximilian in Mexico as major general and was in active service until Maximilian's capture and execution. When he returned to the United States he settled in Houston and died there in 1871.

* * *

A silver service (fig. 8) consisting of four goblets, pitcher, and tray, presented to Brevet Major General John Porter Hatch, U.S. Volunteers, is interesting because it was given in recognition of services during the Mexican War, the Indian expeditions of 1857–1859, and the Civil War. The gift is from Hatch's fellow citizens of Oswego, New York.

The silver tray measures 15 by 20 inches and is decorated with four small waterscapes and a flower design. It is raised on four short scroll feet. The inscription reads:

Figure 9.—Silver service presented to Gen. Judson Kilpatrick by the Veterans Association of Connecticut. Loan of the estate of Mrs. Luisa V. Kilpatrick. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 57292, cats. 15145–15167; Smithsonian photo 28067.)

Genl. John Porter Hatch Presented by Citizens of Oswego, Jany 1863

The pitcher (14 inches high and 7 inches in diameter) has a design of grapevines and birds. The spout is in the form of a face, and the handle represents entwined vines. It is inscribed:

Presented by citizens of Oswego, N.Y. to their esteemed fellow citizen Genl. John Porter Hatch as a testimonial of their appreciation of the gallantry and heroism displayed by him in the service of his country especially on the battle fields of Mexico and in the Army of the Potomac Jany 1863.

The mark is "Tiffany & Co., 7899, G. & W., English Sterling 925–1000, 550 Broadway N.Y."

The four silver goblets are also decorated with grape vines and birds, and they have gilt interiors. They are 8 inches high and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. Each goblet has the inscription:

Testimonial of the Citizens of Oswego, N.Y. to Genl. John P. Hatch, Jan. 1863.

Below this inscription each goblet is marked with one of the following:

Mexico 1846–7
New Mexico 1857–8–9
Shenandoah Valley, May 25, 1862
South Mountain, Sep. 14, 1862

Each goblet is marked "Tiffany & Co."

Hatch graduated from the Academy in 1845 and immediately saw active service in the Mexican War. He fought not only in General Taylor's campaign in northern Mexico but also in General Scott's campaign to capture Mexico City. In the years intervening before the Civil War he saw active service in Indian campaigns and took part in a number of scouting expeditions. With the outbreak of the Civil War he was assigned with the Volunteers in the Army of the Potomac until he was severely wounded at South Mountain, for which action he received the Congressional Medal of Honor. He spent the rest of the Civil War on duty behind the lines where he was in command of various districts in the Department of the South following Sherman's campaign.

* * *

The largest and most elaborate set of presentation silver in the Museum is a complete table service (fig. 9) that was given to General Judson Kilpatrick by the Veterans Association of Connecticut on the occasion of his marriage to a Chilean in 1868 while he was serving as U.S. Minister to Chile. The set is engraved with emblems of the United States, Chile, the U.S. Army, and the U.S. Navy. The monograms on the individual pieces are in gold of four colors. More than any other silver service in the Museum this one may be said to epitomize the elaborate realism so popular during the height of the Victorian era.

The pieces are marked "Meriden B * Company * " in a circle around a shield surmounted by balanced scales. This mark was used in the second half of the 19th century by the Meriden Britannia Company for its high-grade, silverplated hollow-ware made on a base of silver nickel.[11]

There are two trays in the set. The smaller tray is shown in figure 9. The larger one measures 22½ inches by 38 inches and is inscribed:

The Veteran Soldiers of Connecticut to Kilpatrick

It is engraved in gold and silver with flags of the United States and Chile crossed with bayonets and spears. On one side there is a center medallion in gold with the monogram "L V K" (for Luisa V. Kilpatrick) in a circle surmounted on a shield of stars and stripes. Above the monogram there is a banner with three stars and a triangle. On the other side of the standing piece two eagles in fighting position are shown in front of a sunburst design. The United States flag can be seen directly behind the victorious eagle. The motto "Tuebor" is at the top of the sunburst. The entire design is encircled by a ring of stars, and there is a shield of stars and stripes at the top. This same design is repeated on all 40 pieces.

The service contains napkin rings, vegetable dishes, syrup jar, spoon holder, large centerpiece, porcelain-lined pitcher, and other miscellaneous pieces of silver used for table service. The pieces of the tea and coffee service are mounted on four feet that are fastened to the bowl with cattle heads with branched horns. Each foot stands on a cloven hoof. The knob of each of the pots is a tiny horse jumping over a four-bar hurdle.

* * *

One of the most interesting military presentation pieces in the collection is a silver and copper shield presented to Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, U.S. Army, by the officers of the 5th Infantry Regiment. General Miles served for many years as colonel of the regiment and led it in a number of notable Indian engagements. Beginning in 1869 his regiment defeated the Cheyenne, Kiowa, Comanche, Sioux, Nez Percé, and Bannock Indians, and, in 1886, after a long and difficult campaign, Miles compelled the surrender of the Apaches under Geronimo and Natchez.

The heart-shaped shield [12] is surrounded by a rolled edge made of copper which originally had a gold wash. Inscribed on the inside of the rolled edge are the names "New Mexico," "Kansas," "Wyoming," "Montana," "Dakota," "Colorado," "Indian Territory," and "Texas." A profile portrait of General Miles, in relief, is suspended from an eagle's beak in the center, and below are the crossed weapons of the U.S. Army and the Indians surmounted by a peace pipe.

The background of the shield is silver with etched scenes depicting incidents of the career of General Miles in the states named. The scenes depicted are of a buffalo hunt, a covered wagon on the trail, wild horses with Indian tepees in the background, an Army council of war, General Miles receiving the surrender

[11] Earl Chapin May, *Century of Silver 1847–1947: Connecticut Yankees and a Noble Metal* (New York: McBride and Co., 1947), pl. 36.

[12] Loan of Mrs. Samuel Reber (acc. 87949, cat. 35145), Division of Armed Forces History, USNM.

Figure 10.—Silver service presented to Mrs. Abraham Lincoln when she was First Lady. Gift of Mr. Lincoln Isham. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 216335.6–.13; Smithsonian photo 44851–B.)

of Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé Indians, and a peaceful agricultural scene.

The plaque is inscribed as follows:

Presented to General Nelson A. Miles, U.S. Army, by the officers of the fifth U. S. Infantry. As a token of personal esteem and their estimate of his distinguished services in which unequaled successes over savages in war were paralleled by humanity and justice towards the thousands of Indians whom he took captive and instructed in the Arts of Civilization.

The plaque, measuring 18½ by 23 inches overall, is marked "Tiffany & Co., 6565. Makers 2, Sterling Silver, 926–1000 and Other Metals, M."

General Miles was colonel of the 5th Infantry Regiment for so many years that a modification of his family crest was selected as the crest on the coat of arms of the regiment. The Miles family crest is an arm in armor grasping an anchor. Arrows for each Indian campaign in which the regiment took part are substituted for the anchor in the regimental crest.[13]

TO MARY TODD LINCOLN

The Museum recently received a silver service (fig. 10) that belonged to Mary Todd Lincoln. The service consists of a large oval tray, a hot-water urn on a stand with a burner, coffeepot, teapot, hot-water pot, cream pitcher, sugar urn, and waste bowl. All the pieces have an overall repoussé floral and strapwork pattern with the monogram "MTL" on one side and an engraved crest on the other. The crest seems to be an adaptation of the Todd family crest. The pieces are marked with a lion, an anchor, and an old English "G," which are the early marks of the Gorham Silver Company. It is assumed that this silver service was a presentation gift to Mrs. Lincoln during the time she was First Lady of the White House, as a letter dated July 19, 1876, from her to her son Robert Todd Lincoln calls his attention to a silver service in his possession that was a gift to her from "the Citizens of New York."

FOR ENGINEERING

By far the most fanciful of all the mid-19th-century pieces is the silver teakettle and stand (fig. 11) given to General Montgomery C. Meigs by the citizens of Washington for his work on the Washington Aqueduct. The kettle, 18 inches high, is mounted on a base that is 8½ inches square and 3¼ inches high. The base is made in the shape of the stone arches of the aqueduct, and the head of George Washington, in profile, is

[13] *Infantry* (vol. 2 of *The Army Lineage Book*), Washington, 1953.

Figure 11.—Teakettle and stand given to Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs in 1853 by the citizens of Washington for his work on the Washington Aqueduct. Gift of Gen. M. C. Meigs. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 25386, cat. 5864; Smithsonian photo 57008.)

depicted on the center front. There is a depression in the top of the base for holding a small alcohol lamp. Four rocks, one on each corner of the base, provide support for the kettle. The kettle's feet, in the form of fish, rest on the rocks and are fastened to them with hinges held by a chain and silver pin. The pins can be released so that the kettle can be tilted for pouring without moving it from the base. By withdrawing all four pins, the kettle can be completely detached from the base. The body of the kettle is decorated with nautical designs—waves, fish, shells, etc.—and cattails and lily pads. Under the spout is an anchor entwined with a fish over the initial "M." A belt ornamented with stars encloses the castellated towers of the Army Engineers symbol with the letters "U," "S," and "E" on one side of the kettle. On the other side is the inscription:

Presented to Captain Montgomery C. Meigs U.S. Engineers by the Corporation of Washington with a Resolution of Thanks approved 12th March 1853 for his Report on the Washington Aqueduct.

The handle of the kettle is in the form of a serpent's tail, and the spout is the serpent's open mouth. The lid is a nautilus shell on which stands an eagle with raised wings. On one side of the base is inscribed:

Presented 9th June 1854 by John W. Maury—Mayor, Joseph Borrows of B^{d} Ald., A. W. Miller of B^{d} Com. C. Committee of the Corporation.

The piece is marked "M. W. Galt & Bro.," a firm established in Washington in 1802 that has been in continuous business since that time.

Montgomery Cunningham Meigs graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1836 and was soon assigned to the Engineer Corps. Thereafter, for a quarter of a century his outstanding talents were devoted to many important engineering projects. His favorite was the construction of the Washington Aqueduct, which carried a large part of Washington's water supply from the Great Falls of the Potomac to the city. This work, under his direction between 1852 and 1860, involved devising ingenious methods of controlling the flow and distribution of the water and also the design of a monumental bridge across the Cabin John Branch—a bridge that for 50 years was the longest masonry arch in the world. At the same time Meigs was supervising the building of wings and a new dome on the Capitol and an extension on the General Post Office Building.

During the Civil War, Meigs served as quartermaster general, and in 1864 he was brevetted major general. As quartermaster general he supervised plans for the War Department Building, 1866–1867; the National Museum Building, 1876; and an extension of the Washington Aqueduct, 1876.

After his retirement, in 1882, General Meigs became architect of the Pension Office Building. He served as a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and one of the earliest members of the National Academy of Sciences.

Figure 12.—Gold box presented to Cyrus W. Field by the City of New York. Loan of Metropolitan Museum of Art. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 64761, cat. 26209; Smithsonian photo 57010.)

General Meigs himself gave the Museum this interesting piece of presentation silver. He also gave the previously described tureen (fig. 5) that had belonged to Commodore John Rodgers, who was General Meigs' father-in-law.

* * *

Cyrus W. Field became interested in the idea of a cable across the Atlantic between Newfoundland and Ireland in 1854. It was not a new idea, and other shorter submarine cables had been successful, but this was the first time a transatlantic cable had been promoted by a man of Field's business ability and financial standing. Through his efforts, a governmental charter was secured and a company of prominent New Yorkers was formed to underwrite the venture. An unsuccessful attempt to lay the cable was made by the company in 1857. Field tried again in 1858; on the fourth attempt he was successful and immediately acclaimed as the "genius of the age."

New York greeted Field with wild rejoicing, and the city authorities set September 1, 1858, as a day of celebration to give him an official public ovation. The celebration surpassed anything the city had ever before witnessed. Mr. Field and the officers of the cable fleet landed at Castle Garden and received a national salute. From there the procession progressed through crowded and gaily decorated streets to the crowd-filled Crystal Palace, where an address was given on the history of the cable. Then the mayor of New York gave an address honoring Mr. Field and presented him with a gold box stating:

> The municipal government of this city instructs me to present to you a gold box with the arms of the city engraved thereon, in testimony of the fact that to you mainly, under Divine Providence, the world is indebted for the successful execution of the grandest enterprise of our day and generation; and in behalf of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York I now request your acceptance of this token of their approbation.

The gold box (fig. 12) presented to Field by the City of New York is in the collections of the United States National Museum.[14] It measures 4½ inches by 3 inches. On the lid and around an engraved representation of the cable fleet is inscribed:

> The City of New York to Cyrus W. Field

The sides of the box are engraved with vignettes depicting the landing of the cable, the planning group at work, science and industry united, and Europe and America united. The bottom is engraved with the American eagle and the British shield. The inside lid of the box is inscribed:

> The City of New York to Cyrus W. Field commemorating his skill, fortitude and perseverance in originating and completing the first enterprise for an ocean telegraph successfully accomplished Aug. 5, 1858 uniting Europe and America.

Significant of the enthusiasm with which Field was greeted in 1858 is a silver-mounted tankard, made

[14] Loan of Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. 64761, cat. 26209), Division of Political History, USNM.

from the wood of the Charter Oak, that was given to him in December by the workmen of Central Park. On August 18, seemingly without advance publicity or elaborate preparations, there was a parade on Broadway of the workmen of Central Park. The procession was headed by a squad of policemen in full uniform, a band, and a standard bearer with a muslin banner inscribed "The Central Park People." The men marched in squads of four, and wore their everyday work clothes with evergreens stuck in their hats. Each squad carried a banner giving the name of its boss-workman. The procession included four-horse teams drawing wagons in which rode the workmen of the Engineers' Department. The parade was composed of 1,100 laborers and 800 carts from Central Park and 700 laborers and carts from the new Croton Reservoir, making a procession three miles long. Since it was altogether unexpected, it created no little excitement and inquiry.[15]

The tankard (fig. 13) has a silver spout inscribed:

The Oak of this Tankard is a part of the tree in which was preserved the Charter of the Liberties of the People of Connecticut during a temporary success of tyranny A.D. 1687.

There is a silver shield on the left side with the monogram "C. W. F." and a silver shield on the right inscribed:

The men, working in the Central Park Augst 17th 1858 Present this tankard to Cyrus W. Field, as an expression of their respect, for the untiring labor which on that Day resulted in proving the practicability of Trans-Atlantic Communication, by the Electric Telegraph.

The knob on the lid is made of silver and is decorated with an anchor and a rope in silver. No maker's mark is discernible.

While the public adulation was at its peak the cable suddenly stopped working. Immediately public opinion changed and Field was accused of being a fake. He suffered severe business reverses and in 1860 went into bankruptcy. The outbreak of the Civil War prevented any further activity on the cable until 1865. Field engaged the world's largest steamer, the *Great Eastern*, to make the next attempt. The cable of 1865 parted in midocean during the laying operations, but in 1866 experience and technical improvements won the fight. The cable was laid and this time it continued to operate.

[15] Isabella Field Judson, ed., *Cyrus W. Field, His Life and Work* (New York, 1896), p. 110.

Again Field was the darling of the American people and he was greeted with enthusiasm. Immediately on his return to New York in 1866 he sold enough of his cable stock to enable him early in November to write to those who had been hurt by his bankruptcy in 1860 and send to each the full amount of his indebtedness with 7 percent interest. The full amount paid out reached about $200,000. For this action George Peabody of New York City gave Field a silver service.

The silver cake basket[16] from this service is in the United States National Museum. The shallow basket is on a pedestal with handles on each side. The inside of the basket is gilded. Inscribed on a plaque on one side is:

George Peabody to Cyrus W. Field in testimony and commemoration of an act of very high Commercial integrity and honor, New York, 24 Nov. 1866.

The inside of the foot of the basket is marked with the lion, anchor, and "G" of the Gorham Silver Company.

Field continued to be active in many business enterprises but the last years of his life were again beset with severe financial difficulties. He and his wife celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in 1890, and in honor of this occasion their children presented them with a silver gilt vase.[17] The vase contains a portion of the first Atlantic cable mounted in the base, a part of the steamship *Great Eastern*, by which the cable was laid, and the inscribed names of all the Field's children and grandchildren. It is marked "Tiffany & Co. Sterling Silver, M."

FOR DIPLOMACY AND LEGISLATION

In January 1861, Dr. Samuel Lilly, physician, politician, and judge, was sent to British India as consul general from the United States. Dr. Lilly had been elected a representative to the 33d Congress as a Whig, and he served from 1853 to 1855. He also served as a judge of various lower courts in New Jersey. On his appointment as consul general he was given a silver goblet[18] 8 inches tall and 4¼ inches in diameter, having an embossed design of fruits, nuts, and flowers. On the goblet is inscribed:

[16] Gift of Isabella Field Judson (acc. 116488, cat. 37662), Division of Political History, USNM.

[17] Gift of Isabella Field Judson (acc. 32290, cat. 7214), Division of Political History, USNM.

[18] Gift of William Lilly (acc. 103012, cat. 35780), Division of Political History, USNM.

Figure 13.—Silver-mounted tankard presented to Cyrus W. Field by the workmen of Central Park, New York City. Loan of Metropolitan Museum of Art. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 64761, cat. 26209; Smithsonian photo 45992–H.)

A Testimonial of Respect and Esteem Presented to Hon. Samuel Lilly by a few of his Fellow Citizens without distinction of Party; on the eve of his departure for Calcutta as Consul-General to British India January 29, 1861.

The inside of the stem is marked with the lion, anchor, and "G" of the Gorham Silver Company, the word "coin," and the figure "8."

When Dr. Lilly left India in 1862 he was given a silver pitcher and a silver tray.[19] The pitcher (13 inches high and 7½ inches in diameter) has a tall, slender neck with a decided downturn to the pouring lip and a hinged lid with a thistle flower as a knob. The neck is engraved on each side with a design of grape leaves and grapes. The bowl of the pitcher has eight panels embossed with scrolls of vines and flowers. Both the tray and the pitcher are marked "Allen and Hayes." One side is engraved:

To the Hon. Samuel Lilly, M.D.

The other side is engraved:

By the American Merchants in Calcutta July 1862.

The silver tray (18 inches in diameter) has a scroll-leaf and flower design in relief around the edge. The scroll-leaf design is repeated on the surface. The tray is inscribed as follows:

Presented to the Hon. Samuel Lilly M.D. by the American Merchants Resident in Calcutta as a token of regard and acknowledgment of the creditable manner with which he has upheld the dignity of the office and executed the duties appertaining to the post of Consul-General of the United States of America in British India, Calcutta, July 4th, 1862.

* * *

American interest in European affairs, considerably increased by the middle of the century, is also reflected in the collection. In 1866 the life of the Czar of Russia was saved from a Nihilist's bullet by the brave action of one of the serfs who had recently been emancipated by royal decree. Czar Alexander II was well liked by his own people and was regarded as an enlightened ruler by the other nations of the West. He was especially respected in the United States because of the open support he gave to the Union side during the Civil War. His escape from death was a cause for official rejoicing in this country, and the Congress of the United States passed a resolution of congratulations on the deliverance of the life of the Czar and commissioned Gustavus Vasa Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to deliver it to the Czar. Fox set out for Europe in one of the newly designed Monitor ships that had proved so effective in naval fighting during the Civil War. His Monitor was escorted by other ships of the fleet with a large delegation of naval officers. The party was greeted by the Russians with great acclaim, and it was showered with gifts and honors. Many of the interesting items given to Fox personally were bequeathed to the United States National Museum by his widow, Mrs. V. L. W. Fox (accession 50021, Division of Political History). Among these objects are a silver tray (fig. 14), a silver saltcellar in the shape of a chair (fig. 14), and a gold snuffbox.

The tray and saltcellar were presented to Fox on the estate of Prince Galitzine, one of the wealthiest members of the Russian nobility. These two items bear the marks of a Russian maker and are engraved "July 5, 1864," which date marked the coming-of-age of the Prince. On August 26, shortly after the American delegation arrived in Russia, Fox and his party drove to the beautiful Galitzine estate, about 12 miles from Moscow. The members of the party were met by the Prince and went with him to a part of the park where

[19] Gift of William Lilly (acc. 103012, cats. 35781–82), Division of Political History, USNM.

Figure 14.—Tray and saltcellar in shape of chair that were among items presented to Gustavus Vasa Fox on his visit to Russia in 1866. The tray measures 24 x 15 x 1½ inches, and the saltcellar is $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, $4\frac{9}{10}$ inches long, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. They were made by Sazkolf, St. Petersburg, 1863. Bequest of Mrs. V. L. W. Fox. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 50021, cats. 11267, 11263; Smithsonian photos 45602–A, 45602–H.)

a deputation of peasants awaited them. Leader of the peasant group was the mayor of the neighboring village, an emancipated serf, who presented Fox with bread and salt—traditional symbols of Russian hospitality—on a silver salver and said:

> We wish to tell the envoy that we are come to congratulate him on his arrival, and to present him with bread and salt and also to say that we love him, and that we shall remember the love of his people for our country and our sovereign.[20]

Two days later, on August 28, Fox met Prince Gortchakoff by appointment at the foreign office. After various complimentary allusions to the manner in which Mr. Fox had performed the delicate duties entrusted to him by his government, the Prince, in the name of the Emperor, presented a gold snuffbox set with diamonds.[21] The box, exquisitely chased, had the Emperor's miniature on the top surrounded by 26 diamonds. Six larger diamonds were set three on each side at equal distances from the inner circle. The Emperor was pictured in full military uniform with various orders on his breast.[22] The snuffbox minus its decorations is part of the Gustavus Vasa Fox collection in the Museum. The precious stones on the lid and the miniature in the center were bequeathed by Mrs. Fox to various members of the family when the box (cat. 11268) was willed to the Museum.

* * *

A large and elaborate silver vase was presented by the members of the U.S. Life-Saving Service to Mrs. Samuel S. Cox in honor of the outstanding work of her husband, who as a congressman supported various bills for the improvement of the Service. Mr. Cox served as Congressman for 20 years, first from Ohio and later from New York State. He died in New York City in 1889. Two years later General Superintendent S. I. Kimball, in behalf of a committee representing the Service, presented the vase to Mrs. Cox. The ceremony took place at Mrs. Cox's home in Washington on December 12, 1891, in the presence of a gathering of relatives and friends.

The vase[23] is 2 feet tall and 2 feet 1 inch in diameter; it weighs almost 8 pounds. Its design was selected by a subcommittee appointed by the Life-Saving Service, and the job was awarded to the Gorham Silver Company. The chasing is entirely the work of one man. The base of the vase has a design of clusters of acorns and oak leaves, and above these are dolphins sporting in billowing waves. The body of the vase

[20] John D. Champlin, Jr., ed., *Narrative of the Mission to Russia in 1866 of the Hon. Gustavus Vasa Fox from the Journal and Notes of J. F. Loubat* (New York, 1873), p. 264.

[21] Snuffboxes were given by sovereigns to those who were not allowed to receive decorations. Such boxes were of three grades: plain gold boxes, boxes set with diamonds, and boxes having both diamonds and the sovereign's miniature. The latter were given only to persons of the highest distinction.

[22] Champlin, p. 359.

[23] Gift of Elizabeth Hardenburg (acc. 53695, cat. 12782), Division of Political History, USNM.

begins with wide flutings between the tops of which are shells and seaweed. These are surrounded by a ring of marine cable. On the front, a scene represents the lifesavers at work. In perspective some distance out, where the sea rises in mountainous waves, there is a wrecked vessel, and in the foreground lifesavers are carrying the rescued to the beach. The ornamentation that covers the top of the body of the vase consists of a cable net in which are starfish, seaweed, and other marine flora and fauna. A ledge formed by a ship's chain surmounts the net, and above this is a profile of Mr. Cox circled with laurel. A lifebuoy crossed with a boat hook and oar ornaments the other side. Handles at the sides are two mermaids who with bowed heads and curved bodies hold in their upraised hands sea plants growing from the side of the top of the vase. The mermaids are the only portion of the ornamentation that was cast.

The vase is inscribed as follows:

This Memorial Vase is presented to *Mrs. Samuel S. Cox* by the members of *The Life-Saving Service of the United States* in Grateful Remembrance of the tireless and successful efforts of her Distinguished husband *The Honorable Samuel Sullivan Cox* to promote the interests and advance the efficiency and glory of the Life-Saving Service.

He was its early and constant friend; Its earnest and eloquent advocate; Its fearless and faithful Champion.

I have spent the best part of my life in the public service; most of it has been like writing in water. The reminiscences of party wrangling and political strife seem to me like nebulae of the past, without form and almost void. But what little I have accomplished in connection with this Life-Saving Service is compensation "sweeter than the honey in the honeycomb." It is its own exceeding great reward.[24]

* * *

Tangible evidence of the increased role that the United States was beginning to play in international affairs is a silver pitcher and salver[25] presented to Judge George S. Batcheller in appreciation of his services as president of the International Postal Congress, which was held in Washington, D.C., in 1897. Judge Batcheller's international career began when President Ulysses Grant appointed him as the U.S. judge in the newly created International Tribunal for legal administration of Egypt. The Tribunal had jurisdiction in cases between foreigners of different nationalities and also in cases of foreigners versus Egyptians. Batcheller later served as minister to Portugal and then as manager of European interests for various American companies.

The International Postal Congress presented Judge Batcheller, its presiding officer, with a handsome urn-shaped pitcher with the following inscription engraved on the center front:

Le Congrès postal de Washington à son Président le Général George S. Batcheller Juin 1897.

The pitcher, 14¼ inches high, is marked inside the base "Galt & Bros., Sterling, 925 – 0 – 1879, 277, 7½ pts." The "925" is circled, and the date is boxed. Accompanying the pitcher is a silver tray with the monogram "G S B" in script in the center. The tray is marked on the back with an eagle in a circle to the left, an "A" in a shield in the center, and a hammer and sickle in a circle to the right (an unidentified mark).

20th-Century Pieces

FOR SERVICE IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

One of the most controversial figures of the Spanish-American War is represented in the Museum's collection by some of the silver that was presented to Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley.[26] Schley became a national hero primarily because of his genial personality, and he was acclaimed and supported by the masses of the American public even while his claims to fame were being challenged by his colleagues.

Admiral Schley had already had a long and illustrious naval career before the outbreak of the war with Spain. After his graduation from the Naval Academy in 1860, he served on board the frigate *Niagara* when it was detailed to bring to the United States the first representatives from Japan to this country. As a junior naval officer he took part in the Civil War engagements leading up to the capture of Port Hudson. Then followed a period with sea duty and alternate posts ashore at the Naval Academy and elsewhere. During this period he took part in the capture of some Korean forts in 1871, and later he commanded the relief expedition that rescued the Arctic explorer Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greeley and six of his companions near Cape Sabine, when they

[24] From a speech by Cox delivered in the House of Representatives, April 24, 1888.

[25] Gift of Katherine Batcheller (acc. 112477, cat 36871), Division of Political History, USNM.

[26] Collection gift of Mrs. R. S. Wortley (acc. 136891), Division of Naval History, UNSM.

were near death, and brought them safely home after a perilous voyage through 1,400 miles of ice.

The controversial period of Schley's career began with his appointment to command the Flying Squadron, stationed at Hampton Roads at the opening of the Spanish-American War, with the arrangement that should his squadron operate with the Atlantic Squadron in the West Indies, he would be under its senior officer, William T. Sampson. Since Sampson was junior to Schley in rank, this led to the famous Sampson-Schley controversy of the war. Despite his orders to blockade Santiago immediately, Schley took his time getting there with his squadron, and then he failed to establish a close blockade. During the month-long blockade in which the two squadrons were joined, matters were strained between the commands. Sampson was in conference about seven miles east of Santiago when the Spanish fleet finally emerged from the harbor. Schley immediately seized full command of the battle despite Sampson's proximity and his prompt return to action.

The press, probably influenced by his likable personality, made a hero of Schley, but his fellow naval officers felt differently. A court of inquiry held in 1901 found Schley to be at fault, but despite this decision he retained his public popularity, a tribute to his affability and bluff, hearty manner.

The many pieces in the Museum's collection of presentation silver given to Schley not only attest the recipient's popularity but seem to express the poor taste, debased design, and stereotyped workmanship that was characteristic at the beginning of the 20th century.

Not just one presentation piece but an entire silver service was made from Spanish coins recovered from the *Cristóbal Colón* that was sunk at Santiago. The original service consisted of 69 pieces, of which the Museum has the table centerpiece, soup tureen and ladle, fish platter, and a vegetable dish (cat. 39554).

The centerpiece, measuring 14 by 30 by 8 inches, is designed with a circular base holding four classical female figures. On each side of the base is a shallow silver dish shaped like a seashell and supported by dolphins. A shield on one side of the base bears the following inscription:

> This service made of Spanish coins recovered from the *Cristobal Colon* sunk in the battle off Santiago de Cuba July 3, 1898 is presented to Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley by his friends in loving appreciation of his heroic services to his country.

An eagle ornaments the opposite side of the base.

The covered oval soup tureen (7 inches by 13¼ inches; cat. 39555) bears the same inscription as the centerpiece and is marked "S. Kirk & Son Co." The cover, monogrammed "W S S," has a rather effective design of overlapped laurel leaves with clusters of berries. The ladle (14 inches long; cat. 39556) is monogrammed "W S S" on the bowl (4 inches in diameter), and it has the same design as the tureen.

The fish platter (25 inches by 13 inches; cat. 39557) is similar to the tureen in design. The oval vegetable dish (11 inches by 15¼ inches; cat. 39558) is also similar and is inscribed the same way, including the mark of "S. Kirk & Son Co."

An elaborate silver centerpiece given to Admiral Schley in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1902 consists of a bowl, vase, and candelabra made to be fitted into one unit (fig. 15). The large bowl (20 inches by 6 inches) is chased in marine designs and bears the following inscriptions:

> Presented to Winfield Scott Schley, Admiral U. S. N. in recognition of his services in destroying the Spanish Fleet off Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898.

> Twenty-thousand American citizens join in honoring valor, fidelity to duty and a lofty generosity that exemplified the sublimest manhood. Memphis, Tennessee, April 28, 1902.

> There is glory enough for All.

The silver vase (32 inches high) is made to fit into the bowl, and it has a portrait of Admiral Schley on one side and a picture of his flagship, the *Brooklyn*, on the other. Each end of the bowl is fitted with a socket to hold a three-branch silver candelabra, and there are two solid blocks of silver for insertion in the sockets when the candelabra are not being used. These pieces are marked "Sterling" but no maker's mark is visible.

A silver card (cat. 39518), measuring 3¼ inches by 5½ inches, that was presented to Schley at a dinner given in his honor is engraved as follows:

> Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley, U. S. N. The Commercial club of Kansas City, Mo., November 19, 1902.

The turn of the century marks the beginning of the popularity of loving cups as presentation pieces. There are four loving cups in the Admiral Schley collection.

The earliest of these cups bears the following inscription:

> Presented to Rear Admiral W. S. Schley by the citizens of Atlanta Georgia, November 4, 1899.

This cup (cat. 39571), 9 inches in diameter and 14½

Figure 15.—Centerpiece given to Adm. Winfield Scott Schley in Memphis, Tennessee, for his services in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Part of the Schley collection, gift of Mrs. R. S. Wortley. In Division of Naval History. (Acc. 136891, cat. 39548; Smithsonian photo 45992-G.)

inches in depth, is shaped like a vase and is decorated with a scroll design. Each of its three handles is attached to the cup with two applied silver oak leaves. The piece is marked "Maier & Berkley, Atlanta, Georgia, Sterling, 385,16."

Another silver cup with three handles was presented to Schley on February 5, 1902, by the Chamber of Commerce and the citizens of Knoxville, Tennessee, in recognition of his services during the Spanish-American War. This cup (cat. 39573) has the mark of the Gorham Silver Company and the words "Sterling, A 2219, 6 pints."

The silver loving cup given to Admiral Schley by the City of Dallas reflects the exuberance of the Texas donors as well as the taste of the turn of the century. It bears the following inscription:

Presented to Winfield Scott Schley, Rear Admiral, U. S. N. A token of the Affectionate Regard and Grateful Appreciation of the City of Dallas, Texas, For His Illustrious Achievements in the Service of our Country, October 20, 1902.

This cup (cat. 39572) measures 8 inches in diameter and 21 inches in depth. The three handles terminate in eagles' heads. The design pictures a battleship in gold identified as the "U.S.S. Oregon," a head and laurel wreath with the words "U.S.S. Brooklyn," and an eagle and a star in a wreath for the "U.S.S. Texas." The base of the cup is decorated with three Texas longhorns with an anchor and shield. It bears the marks of the Gorham Silver Company.

The fourth loving cup (cat. 39538) is made of vanadium steel rather than of silver. This too is a three-handled cup. It measures 7 inches in diameter and 12½ inches in depth and is decorated with the emblem of the Masonic Order of the Mystic Shrine and the following inscriptions:

Presented to Noble Winfield Scott Schley by Syria Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S. November 20, 1909.

Syria

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

* * *

The war with Spain is further commemorated by a silver loving cup [27] presented to Rear Admiral Charles

[27] Gift of Nellie G. Gunther (acc. 84594, cat. 35647), Division of Naval History, USNM.

D. Sigsbee, U.S.N. Sigsbee, commissioned captain in 1897, was in command of the battleship *Maine* when she blew up in Havana harbor in 1898. A naval court of inquiry exonerated Sigsbee, his officers, and crew from all blame for the disaster; and the temperate judicious dispatches from Sigsbee at the time did much to temper the popular demand for immediate reprisal.

The cup bears the following inscription:

The Commercial Club of St. Paul Minn. Sends Greetings to Capt. Charles Dwight Sigsbee who as Commander of the Auxiliary Cruiser St. Paul had a brilliant share in the Naval Exploits of the Spanish War of 1898.

May you live long and prosper.

Marks on the cup are those of the Gorham Silver Company and the words "Sterling," "Patented," and "5 pts."

Admiral Sigsbee achieved greater distinction for his services as a scientist than as a naval hero. An outstanding hydrographer, he made a deep-sea survey of the Gulf of Mexico, and from 1893 to 1897 he was chief of the Navy's hydrographic office.

FOR ARCTIC EXPLORATION

In the midst of the myriad of soldiers, sailors, and politicians who have been presented with silver through the past two centuries, we find an arctic explorer being given similar recognition at the beginning of this century. Rear Admiral Robert E. Peary was the first man to reach the North Pole, and the United States National Museum has a collection of silver presented to him in recognition of this achievement.

Peary became interested in arctic exploration as early as 1886 and discovered he had an aptitude for its grueling demands on several minor expeditions to Greenland and the arctic ice cap. In 1893 he became determined to reach the North Pole, and he spent the next 15 years in unsuccessful attempts to achieve his ambition. In 1908 Peary left on another polar expedition; after a hazardous trip, he reached his goal on April 6, 1909. His victory seemed a hollow one because of the claim of a rival explorer that was finally proven spurious. In October a committee of experts appointed by the National Geographic Society supported Peary's claims, and in 1911 he was tendered the thanks of Congress. Admiral Peary's work as an explorer had immense scientific value, as he developed a highly efficient method of exploration which has continued to be used advantageously.

Three loving cups and a replica of a ship in silver[28] that were presented to Peary are in the collections of the United States National Museum. Two of the cups were gifts to Peary from cities in his home state of Maine. One loving cup (cat. 12186), 10 inches high, is marked with the old English "T" of Tiffany & Company, "7072," and "5 pts." It is inscribed:

To Commodore Robert Edwin Peary, U. S. N. in recognition of his remarkable achievement in placing the flag of the United States at the North Pole, April 6, 1909. Presented September 23, 1909 by the City of Bangor, Me.

The other loving cup from Maine (cat. 12187) is 12 inches deep and bears the Tiffany "T," "7056," "Sterling," and "5½ pts." The inscription reads:

Presented by the citizens of Portland, and South Portland, Maine, To Commodore Robert Edwin Peary, U. S. N. September 23, 1909 in recognition of his achievement in nailing the stars and stripes to the North Pole.

The third loving cup (cat. 12188) is 18 inches high and is marked with the lion, anchor, and "G" of the Gorham Silver Company and with "Sterling," "332A," "7 pints," and "D. Kappa Epsilon." The inscription reads:

Presented to Commodore Robert Edwin Peary, U. S. N. by the Delta Kappa Epsilon Association of New York City, December 18, 1909.

In 1910 the Royal Scottish Geographic Society presented Admiral Peary with a silver replica of a ship (fig. 1) of the type used by Henry Hudson, John Davis, and William Baffin in their explorations for the Northwest Passage. The replica, representing a ship under full sail, is 24 inches high and 20 inches long. The foresail bears a long inscription in Latin likening Peary to other early arctic explorers. The marks indicate the piece was made in Great Britain.

Also in the Museum's collection is a silver plaque[29] presented to Peary by the Circumnavigator's Club in New York. It bears the mark of Tiffany & Company and is inscribed:

Circumnavigator's Club Presented to the Immortal Navigator Peary on the Occasion of his presence as guest of honor at our Annual dinner held at Delmonico's New York City, the Eleventh of December, 1913. Officers: President W. Tyre Stevens, 1st V. P. Wilson D. Lyon, 2nd V. P. W. D. Oelbermann, Treasurer, F. C. Schulze, Sec. F. W. Hilgar, Gov. E. H. Paterson, J. H. Burch Jr., George L. Carlisle, W. G. Paschoff, C. A. Haslett, William H. Zinn.

[28] Loan of Robert E. Peary (acc. 52878), Division of Naval History, USNM.

[29] Loan of Mrs. Robert E. Peary (acc. 177710, cat. 46014), Division of Naval History, USNM.

Figure 16.—Cup presented to the Honorable Brand Whitlock by the British Government. Gift of Mrs. Brand Whitlock. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 137815, cat. 40028; Smithsonian photo 45992–E.)

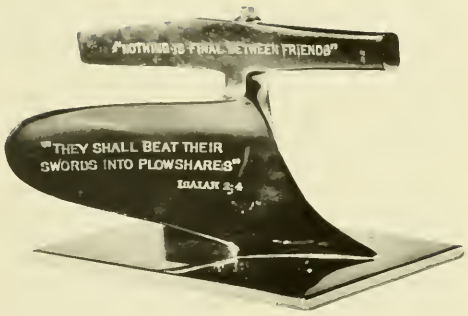

Figure 17.—Paperweight identical to those presented by William Jennings Bryan to 30 diplomats who signed with him treaties for the investigation of all international disputes. Gift of William Jennings Bryan. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 57778, cat. 15307; Smithsonian photo 45992–C.)

The bottom edge of the plaque is engraved "Tiffany & Co. Makers" and "18417 Sterling Silver."

FOR SERVICE DURING WORLD WAR I

Of all the silver pieces in the collections of the National Museum that commemorate military prowess, the sole piece relating to World War I was presented to a man who achieved fame for his humanitarian service as a diplomat—the Honorable Brand Whitlock, who was appointed American Minister to Belgium in 1913. Whitlock came to the position with a distinguished record as four-time mayor of Toledo, Ohio, where his administration was noted for its reforms. He had insisted on a fair deal for the working man; he liberalized the administration of justice; he kept the city government free of graft; and he won a battle against the power of vested interests in the city.

After the invasion of Belgium in World War I, Whitlock remained at his post where he performed many services for the oppressed citizens. His presence in Brussels facilitated for both friend and foe the enormous task of organizing the distribution of food among the civilian population of Belgium and the occupied zone of France. In 1916 he chose to follow the Belgian Government into exile. His activities won him the lifelong affection and admiration of the people of Belgium, and after the war they showered him with evidences of their esteem. Among the many presentation medals, documents, and miscellaneous gifts that he received is a silver loving cup (fig. 16) from the British Government. On one side the cup bears the British coat of arms, and on the other side is inscribed:

Presented to Brand Whitlock by his Britannic Majesty's Government, 11 November 1918.

The base is marked "C & Co.," "130 Regent St., Carrington and Co., London W," and "Copy of Antique Irish 1717, 66 x 13, P 6610, xy P d."

* * *

A presentation piece made of polished steel is really outside the scope of this paper, but as it has an interesting bit of diplomatic history connected with it, it has been included in the catalogue. The object is a paperweight (fig. 17) designed by William Jennings Bryan when he was Secretary of State. The weight, in the form of a plowshare, was made from swords condemned by the War Department. Thirty of these weights were given by Secretary Bryan to the diplomats who in 1914 signed with him treaties providing for the investigation of all international disputes. The shaft of the plow bears the inscription:

"Nothing is final between friends"
"Diplomacy is the art of keeping cool"

The blade is inscribed

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares"
Isaiah 2: 4

On the base is engraved:

"From William Jennings Bryan to the Smithsonian Institution, August 13, 1914"

TO MR. AND MRS. ROBERT TODD LINCOLN

Among the pieces of presentation silver acquired in 1960 by the Smithsonian Institution is a covered urn that was given to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Todd Lincoln by their children on the occasion of their 50th wedding anniversary.[30] Robert Todd Lincoln, son of the President, became a prominent lawyer in Chicago and later served as president of the Pullman Company, as Secretary of War in the cabinets of President Garfield and President Arthur, and as Minister to Great Britain under President Benjamin Harrison. The silver gilt urn has two handles, measures 13 inches from the base to the finial on the cover, and 7 inches at its widest point. Bands of ornamentation feature both the grape design and the acorn and oak-leaf design. It is inscribed:

Robert Todd Lincoln–Mary Harlan 1868—1918

The gilt wash, although almost completely polished off the outside surface, still covers the inside of the urn and its lid.

Figure 18.—Cup given to Susan B. Anthony by the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association. Gift of National American Woman Suffrage Association. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 64601, cat. 26163; Smithsonian photo 45992-J.)

TO CONGRESSMEN

A silver tureen and tray[31] were given to the Honorable James R. Mann, Republican leader of the House of Representatives, by the members of the House in 1919. Mann was elected a Representative from Illinois in 1897, and he remained a member of Congress until his death in 1922. In 1912 he became minority leader. In addition to the Mann Act, his name is associated with other important legislation of the period such as the Pure Food and Drugs Act and the Woman Suffrage Amendment.

The tray, which holds the tureen, is inscribed:

James R. Mann Republican Leader from House Members of the 65th Congress, March 3rd, 1919.

It is marked on the back with "W. Sterling, 4086–16 in." The initial represents the Wallace Silver Company.

The oval tureen is on a pedestal base. There is a scroll design around the edge of the base, the edge of the bowl, and the opening of the bowl. The piece measures 14 inches from handle to handle, is 10 inches high, and has the initials "J R M" in old-English letters engraved on the side.

* * *

In the Museum's collection is a loving cup of Chinese design that was presented by the Chamber of Commerce, Peking, China, to a party of American Congressmen on a tour of China and Japan in 1920.[32] The height of the cup is 17⅝ inches, and its width, including the two large handles, is 15$\frac{5}{16}$ inches. The piece is mounted on a papier-mâche base that is covered with silk. The engraved Chinese characters translate as follows:

Commemorating the welcome of Congressmen from Great America traveling in China

Respectfully presented by members of the Chinese Diet

May the spring of your well-being be as vast as the ocean.

[30] Gift of Lincoln Isham (acc. 227132.1), Division of Political History, USNM.

[31] Gift of Mrs. James R. Mann (acc. 70676, cats. 34113–14), Division of Political History, USNM.

[32] The cup (acc. 66168, cat. 30852) was deposited in the United States National Museum (Division of Political History) by the Honorable John. H. Small, who was chairman of the group of traveling Congressmen.

Among the significant social changes that occurred in the 19th century was the movement for woman suffrage that began about the middle of the century as a concerted action by a nucleus of determined women. The crusade gained strength and numbers during the second half of the century, and finally achieved success with the ratification of the Suffrage Amendment in 1920. Many women worked in this cause, and the pieces of presentation silver in the National Museum's Woman Suffrage Collection constitute a record of the most important leaders.

Chief spokesman of the movement and its leader for many years was Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York State. She was instrumental in calling the first Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and she served as president of the National Woman Suffrage Association from its beginning in 1869 and as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1890 to 1891. She continued to be an active worker in the movement until her death in 1902, writing and editing many works on suffrage in addition to her administrative work.

On the occasion of her 80th birthday in 1895, Mrs. Stanton was presented with a silver tray [33] (8 inches wide and 1½ inches deep) that is inscribed:

From the Ladies of Seneca Falls, 1848–1895.

This tray, presented at a meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, bears on the back a "W" in a circle, a two-headed lion in a rectangle (probably an early mark of the Wallace Silver Company), the word "Sterling," and the number "2048."

On the same occasion Mrs. Stanton was presented a silver loving cup [34] that is inscribed:

1815–1895 Presented to Elizabeth Cady Stanton by the New York City Woman Suffrage League, November 12, 1895. Defeated day by day but unto victory born.

The cup, 4½ inches in diameter and 7⅜ inches deep, is marked on the bottom with the Wallace "W," similar to the mark on the tray, and "Sterling, 3798, 4½ pints, 925/100 fine, Pat 1892."

* * *

The life story of Susan B. Anthony is a record of 60 years of devotion and work for the enfranchisement of women. An organizer and director of countless suffrage activities, she was tireless in conducting campaigns for woman suffrage. She is the one individual who has become so identified with the fight for woman suffrage that, more than any other, her name has become synonymous with that term. During her lifetime she worked in almost every capacity in the organized movement. She became president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1892 and served until her 80th birthday in 1900. On that occasion the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association presented her with a miniature, three-handled loving cup that stands only 3¾ inches high (fig. 18). In one section of the cup there is engraved the word "Colorado" and the state's coat of arms; in an adjoining section is an engraving of the state flower; and in the third section is the following inscription:

Colorado Equal Suffrage Association to Susan B. Anthony on her 80th Birthday 1900.

The cup is marked on the bottom "Sterling, 590, A. J. Stark & Co., Denver."

She was also given a silver-plated teakettle [35] by the Political Equality Club of Rochester, New York. The stand is 3½ inches high, and the teapot is 5¼ inches high. Engraved around the top of the teapot is:

Susan B. Anthony 1820–1893.

The stand is marked "Mfd. & Plated Reed & Barton" and "65."

* * *

The chosen leader of the Woman Suffrage Movement after 1900 was Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a vigorous organizer and campaigner who led the drive for the constitutional amendment that was finally ratified in 1920. Mrs. Catt founded the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1902 and served as its president until 1923. Her late years were devoted to the cause of international peace and disarmament.

Mrs. Catt was the prime mover in calling the first international conference on suffrage, which, in 1902, welcomed representatives from nine foreign nations—Great Britain, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, Russia, Australia, and Chile. The delegates

[33] Gift of Harriot Stanton Blatch (acc. 127776, cat. 38762), Division of Political History, USNM.

[34] Gift of Harriot Stanton Blatch (acc. 127776, cat. 38763), Division of Political History, USNM.

[35] Gift of National American Woman Suffrage Association (acc. 64601, cat. 26162), Division of Political History, USNM.

were honored guests at the National Suffrage Convention then in session in Washington where they also attended two congressional hearings on suffrage and were received by President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House.[36] Mrs. Catt was given a silver tray[37] inscribed:

To Carrie Chapman Catt from the foreign delegates to the First International Suffrage Conference, Washington, D. C., Feb. 12–18, 1902.

The back of the tray is marked "Galt & Bro. Sterling, 386." The Galt silver firm is in Washington, D.C.

The campaign for the first referendum in the state of New York on woman suffrage was considered to be the most decisive of all the state fights. New York was divided into 12 campaign districts working under Mrs. Catt. The campaign was most vigorously waged, but the referendum was defeated.[38] After the New York campaign Mrs. Catt received a silver gilt tray[39] inscribed:

Honorable Carrie Chapman Catt from Katherine Howard Notman

Eleventh Assembly District Campaign Chairman, 1915
The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

The tray is marked on the reverse "Tiffany and Co., 18154, Makers 811, Sterling Silver, 925/1000/M."

Mrs. Catt had started the suffrage movement in the Philippine Islands when she visited there in 1912 and organized the first suffrage club in Manila. In 1937 the Philippine legislature submitted the question of votes for women to the women of the Islands themselves. The campaign committee working out of Manila sent native women campaigners throughout the Islands to be sure all races and religions were represented in the vote. Mrs. Catt raised money in this country and sent it to the campaign committee to help with the fight.[40] Over half a million Philippine women voted favorably on the question, and several months later Mrs. Catt was presented with a silver plaque, mounted on native woods, that is now in the Museum's collection.[41] It is inscribed:

Figure 20.—The Vanderbilt Cup, an annual award for automobile races in the early 20th century. Gift of William K. Vanderbilt, Jr. In Division of Transportation. (Acc. 131820, cat. 310894; Smithsonian photo 45992-B.)

[36] Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1944), pp. 121–122.

[37] Gift of National American Woman Suffrage Association (acc. 147840, cat. 42083), Division of Political History, USNM.

[38] Peck, op. cit., pp. 220–232.

[39] Gift of National American Woman Suffrage Association (acc. 147840, cat. 42084), Division of Political History, USNM.

[40] Peck, op. cit., pp. 457–458.

[41] Gift of National American Woman Suffrage Association (acc. 147840, cat. 42085), Division of Political History, USNM.

Figure 19.—Belt given to H. W. Higham as the winner of a 6-day bicycle race at Glasgow, Scotland. Gift of Mr. H. W. Higham. In Division of Transportation. (Acc. 168449, cat. 313867; Smithsonian photo 45992-F.)

Figure 21.—Trowel used by President Ulysses S. Grant in laying the cornerstone of the Museum of Natural History, New York City. Gift of Julia Dent Grant and William H. Vanderbilt. In Division of Political History. (Acc. 18528, cat. 3004; Smithsonian photo 45992-A.)

In grateful acknowledgement of the moral and financial aid given by the women of America through Carrie Chapman Catt to the women of the Philippines through the International Federation of Women's Clubs in their struggles for their political rights culminating in ultimate victory in April, 1937.

FOR SPORTS EVENTS

The earliest of the sports trophies in the collection is an ornate belt (fig. 19) made of blue velvet upon which are mounted five engraved silver plates connected by silver straps. On the center plate is the inscription:

6 Days Bicycle Champion Belt of Scotland Won by H. W. Higham Nottingham 19th June 1880 Contested at Glasgow

One of the two adjoining smaller plates has an engraving of a man riding a high-wheeled bicycle, and the other has an engraving of a man standing beside a similar bicycle. The two outer plates are engraved with Scottish coats of arms. The belt is 34½ inches long and 3 inches wide.

* * *

Trophies were awarded for competition among the various makes of cars almost as early as the advent of the automobile itself. The earliest such trophy in the Museum's collection is a three-handled, cut-glass cup [42] with a wide silver rim on which is engraved:

Automobile Club of New Jersey. Eagle Rock Hill Climbing Contest. First Prize Nov. 5, 1901.

The prize was won by Charles E. Duryea who drove an automobile of his own manufacture.

Most important of the automobile trophies was the Vanderbilt Cup (fig. 20) for racing, which was established by William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., in 1904 to bring the best cars of foreign make to the United States so that domestic manufacturers could observe them. It is believed that the trophy contributed in this way to the rapid development of the automobile in the United States. The Vanderbilt Cup races were held annually in the United States under the auspices of the American Automobile Association.

The silver cup, measuring 23 inches high and 20 inches in diameter and weighing about 40 pounds, is engraved with statistics of the various races—such as dates, winners, types of cars, distances, and times.[43]

[42] Gift of Mrs. Charles Duryea (acc. 144429, cat. 311338), Division of Transportation, USNM.

[43] Statistics on the cup for the races held from 1904 to 1916 are an interesting record of the development of the automobile. For instance, the winning speed increased from 52.2 miles per hour in 1904 to 86.99 miles per hour in 1916.

There is a wreath around the brim, and the front is decorated with a period racing car in repoussé. The inscription reads:

Challenge Cup Presented by W. K. Vanderbilt Jr. American Automobile Assn. under deed of gift to be raced for yearly by cars under 1000 kilos.

On the inside of the stem is marked "Tiffany and Co." and "35 pints."

* * *

Athletic trophies in the collection include eight silver and silver-plated loving cups awarded for athletic events to the crew members of various ships of the U.S. Navy.[44] The sporting events represented include baseball and football games, canoe and cutter races, and track meets held among the fleet between 1903 and 1915.

TROWELS FOR CORNERSTONE LAYING

The National Museum also has a small collection of silver trowels used for laying cornerstones of public buildings. There is an ivory-handled trowel (fig. 21) with the inscription:

This Trowel was used by His Excellency Ulysses S. Grant. President of the United States in laying the Corner Stone of the Building erected by the Department of Public Parks for the American Museum of Natural History and presented to him by the Trustees of the Museum New York June 2nd 1874.

* * *

There are also some silver trowels in the Bishop Matthew Simpson Collection.[45] The earliest of these is inscribed:

Presented to Bishop Simpson D.D.L.L.D. at a laying of a stone of the New Wesleyan Church, Willesden, in commemoration of the 1st Methodist OEcumenical Conference held in London, Sept. 10, 1881.

This trowel (cat. 38199) bears the English standard marks with the initials "H. H."

On the same trip to London Bishop Simpson received an ivory-handled silver trowel (cat. 38198) inscribed:

Presented to Bishop Simpson upon his laying the foundation stone of Clouditte Methodist Church, Dublin, 12th October, 1881.

Another silver trowel in the same collection is inscribed:

Used by Bishop Simpson at the laying of the cornerstone of the Wenonah Methodist Episcopal Church, Wenonah, New Jersey, Aug. 15, 1883, and presented to him in loving remembrance of his presence.

This trowel (cat. 38197) is marked "Coin" on the back.

The fourth trowel, given to Mrs. Simpson, is inscribed as follows:

Presented to Mrs. Bishop Matthew Simpson by the Lady Managers in loving remembrance of her laying the cornerstone of the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage, Philadelphia. Oct. 13, 1887.

The back of this trowel (cat. 38208) is marked "Sterling."

FIRE TRUMPETS

Three fire trumpets in a collection[46] on loan from the Insurance Company of North America are inscribed as presentation pieces. One of these is 22 inches high and has eagle-head handles and an overall repoussé design. This trumpet is engraved:

May 1871 Retired from active service by the establishment of the Volunteer Fire Department In grateful remembrance we restore to Samuel G. Simpson his handsome gift presented by him to the Southwark Fire Co. Nov. 7, 1865.

Another trumpet is engraved with crossed ladders, pikes, and fire helmets against an overall floral design. It is 19½ inches high. The inscription reads:

Presented to Vigilant Engine Co. #6 of Paterson New Jersey at the Annual Fair of the Willis Street Baptist Church April 1879.

The inscription on the third trumpet reads simply:

Presented to Captain George W. Erb by the Ladies of St. Rose's Fair.

It has an elaborate engine-engraved design and is 21½ inches high.

[44] These trophies were received as a transfer from the Department of Defense (acc. 83961).

[45] Gift of the Misses Simpson (acc. 104604), Division of Political History, USNM.

[46] (Acc. 138182, cat. 311087), Division of Transportation, USNM.

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1965

For sale by Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
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Contributions from
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Paper 48

United States Patents, 1790 to 1870: New Uses for Old Ideas

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Peter C. Welsh

UNITED STATES PATENTS 1790 TO 1870 NEW USES FOR OLD IDEAS

Patent documents from our Nation's early years provide a rich field of exploration for the cultural historian.

United States patents of the period 1790–1870 provide a remarkable cross section of American ingenuity. The drawings—many of the early ones are in color—illustrate the changing contemporary interests.

Now in the National Archives, these patents are a unique source of information standing somewhere between objects and manuscripts. As research materials, they provide a rich field of exploration for the cultural historian.

Here, the scope of this largely untapped source of social history is suggested, and a sampling of it is given.

THE AUTHOR: *Peter Welsh is curator of the Growth of the United States in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.*

THE EXTENSIVE FILES of the U.S. Patent Office confirm the fact that Americans early in the 19th century made rapid strides toward mechanization and technical proficiency. In 1794 astute critics such as Thomas Cooper found us "ingenious in the invention, and prompt and accurate in the execution of mechanism and workmanship." [1] Others wrote, often at length, about our locomotives and steamboats and of an exuberant democratic society preoccupied with speed and comfort. Inventors, themselves caught up in the general fervor of democratic faith, viewed their work as "essentially beneficial to mankind." [2]

Everywhere Americans displayed a predilection for tinkering, a trait that manifested itself as clearly in bizarre contrivances for the home as in labor-saving devices for the farm and factory. From the cotton gin to the machine tool, from the railroad to the automatic mill, the Nation's urge to improve is dramatically

[1] THOMAS COOPER, *Some Information Respecting America* (London, 1794), p. 65.

[2] Benjamin Dearborn announced this worthy sentiment in his patent specification of April 30, 1799.

Figure 1.—Eagle and Masonic eye used to decorate Emanuel W. Carpenter's patent application. [All illustrations in this paper are from either original or restored patent drawings.]

documented. Progress and perfection became a national attitude propounded, disseminated, and enshrined by statesmen, politicians, writers, and architects of the day.

The files of the U.S. Patent Office, in addition to confirming these facts, suggest considerably more.[3] Here lies an explanation, little cited, for American accomplishment in the years between Washington's inauguration and our successes at London's Crystal Palace in 1851 and, later, at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876.

Strangely, despite the currency of scientific and technical history, patent documents remain virtually unexplored. This is not to say that historians have completely ignored the patent records—quite to the contrary. Siegfried Giedion [4] has made exciting and provocative use of the patent files, which have long been a natural starting place for those tracing the primacy of invention. So, too, have the economic historians explored the theory of patent law as a keystone of the capitalistic system. Recently, historians of American technology have showed new interest, and some museums have occasionally recognized the historic importance of patent models and drawings. Nevertheless, to date, few scholars brave the intricacies of these records, even in the areas mentioned. Fewer still ever stop to consider patents as primary evidence documenting our everyday past.[5]

Could not the real treasure of the patent records, particularly the patent drawings, lie in their value as cultural documents? They are not really documents in the archival sense, but rather a unique combination standing somewhere between objects and manuscripts. Here, it would seem, is a challenge to the investigator seeking new material and fresh interpretations. What follows will suggest not only the extent to which they can be used by the social historian, but, indirectly, the degree to which they have been ignored. Considering just the period from 1790 to 1870—when the drawings show their greatest vitality—it is surprising to find the quantity of rich ore waiting to be properly assayed. For here, if one examines only the applications, drawings, and schedules, is a cross section of American ingenuity, one that yields an amazing variety of information.

From this material, a society can be analyzed—popular attitudes can be judged, living standards assessed, and the level of technology evaluated; mun-

[3] Between 1790 and 1836 the United States granted 9,802 patents, and by 1848 the number had increased to 16,000; by 1871, patents granted numbered 131,000 (Report of the Investigation of the United States Patent Office . . . December 1912, House Doc. 1110, 62d Congr., 3d Sess., pp. 22, 58–60). For the most succinct statement to date concerning these records, see Nathan Reingold, "U.S. Patent Office Records as Sources for the History of Invention and Technological Property," *Technology and Culture* (spring 1960), vol. 1, pp. 156–157. Reingold's footnotes serve as a preliminary guide to Patent Office materials. Since Reingold's article appeared, the National Archives has received from the U.S. Patent Office 30 volumes of restored patent specifications, 1790–1836; 14 volumes of restored reissued patent specifications, 1836–1840; and 10 volumes of assignments of restored patents.

[4] Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948).

[5] Philip W. Bishop, "The Beginnings of Cheap Steel" (paper 3 in *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology: Papers 1–11*, U.S. National Museum Bulletin 218, by various authors; Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), pp. 27–47. Bishop makes excellent and traditional use of patents, both American and British. Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufacturers in the United States, 1607–1928* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1929, 3 vols.), discusses the patents important to the growth of individual industries. The general economics of the patent system can be found in Floyd L. Vaughan, *Economics of Our Patent System* (New York: MacMillan, 1925). The first two issues of *Technology and Culture* devote considerable space to notes and articles on patents; see, in particular, papers by Nathan Reingold and P. J. Federico (vol. 1, spring 1960) and by S. C. Gilfillan, Jacob Schmookler, and I. Jordan Kunik (vol. 1, summer 1960). The United States National Museum has on occasion made splendid use of its patent model collection, although little or no use has been made of original drawings. (Patentees were required to support their written specifications with models and drawings.)

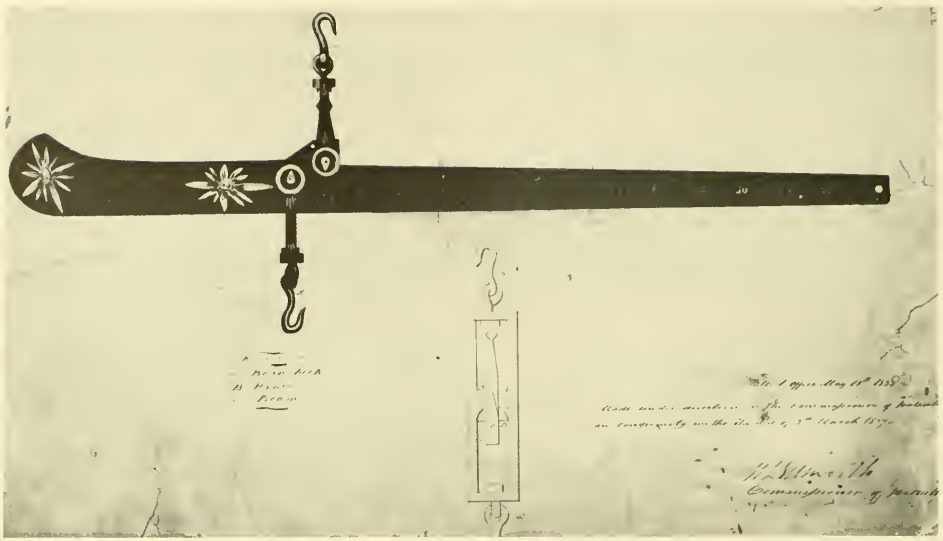


Figure 2.—Vibrating steelyard patented by Benjamin Dearborn, February 14, 1799 (restored patent 234X).

dane things of the period can be identified, such as dress, household furnishings, and a variety of tools and appliances: and prevailing tastes and styles, along with the constituent or lasting contributions of the period, are revealed. If, as Frances Trollope disdainfully noted, the Patent Office indeed contains the brain children of the Nation's "mechanics and agriculturalists,"[6] it should be valuable to illustrate the usefulness of patents with specific examples that will serve as a guide to the wealth of material deposited in the National Archives.

Patents and Popular Sentiments

What can be learned from the patent records before 1870 concerning popular sentiments? Immediately apparent is a zest for mechanical improvement. The drawings, particularly in the early part of the century, suggest this, but one should read the applications and patent schedules, because the most cursory selection of terms will document the orientation of the country and indicate a state of mind that makes innovation seem a natural consequence. Phrases like "great ease and convenience" predominate, but "perfectly true and uniform," "facility," "strength," "much quicker," "durability," "preservation of lives . . . and property," "simplicity," "security," "expeditious manner," "precisely," and "accuracy" almost form a litany for invention, a reason why men invented things, a foundation for rapid national progress in the mechanical arts.[7]

Alexis de Tocqueville cited the "passion for physical well being"[8] explicit in American life, and the ter-

[6] Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, edit. Donald Smalley (New York: Knopf, 1949), p. 219.

[7] Quotations are from the following U.S. patents: David Wilkinson, December 14, 1798; William Hopkins, May 13, 1803; Alexander Black, October 3, 1817; Obadiah Stith, March 16, 1819; John Moore and Samuel P. Bower, March 3, 1837, No. 136; Moses Baldwin, April 29, 1837, No. 186; Emanuel Carpenter, February 6, 1838, No. 594, and Robert C. Mauck, December 26, 1845, No. 4329. "Name and Date" patents may be found in the manuscript volumes of restored patents, Record Group 241, National Archives. Numbered patents may be found in the published schedules of U.S. patents, 1836–, in Record Room, U.S. Patent Office. All illustrations in the present paper are reproduced from original or restored patent drawings, most of which are watercolors or wash drawings.

[8] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols., transl. Francis Bowen (Cambridge, Mass.: Sever and Francis, 1862), vol. 2, p. 155.

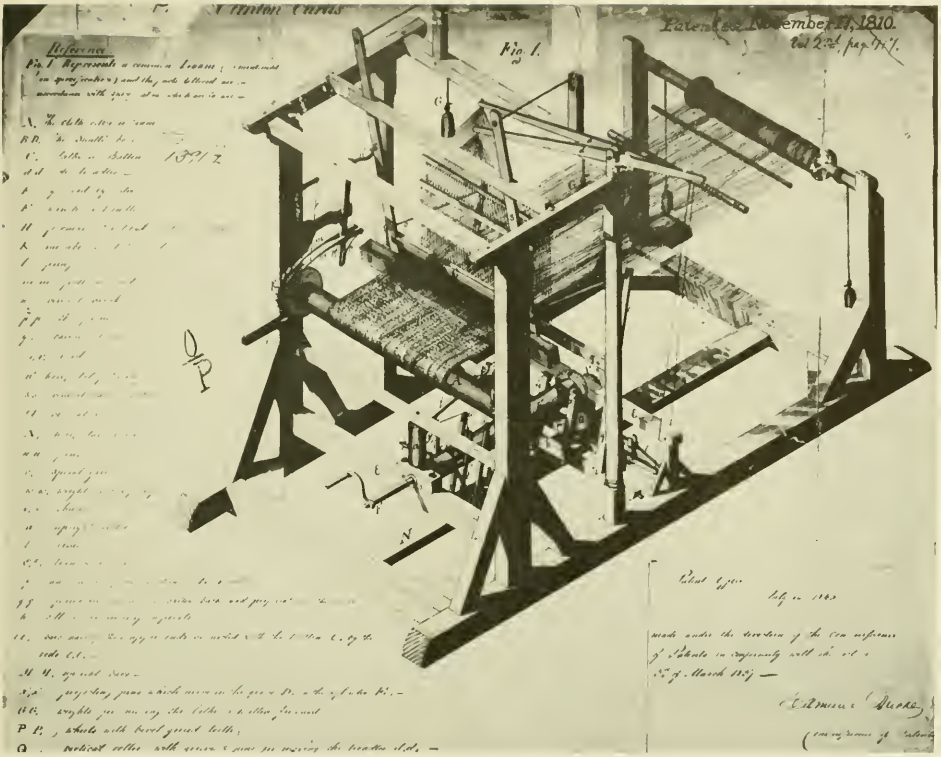


Figure 3.—Improved water loom patented by Philo Clinton Curtis, November 17, 1810 (restored patent 1391X).

minology of the patent schedules confirms the quest for "domestic comfort"[9] as a popular reason for invention. The urge existed to produce something "beautiful" as well as the less idealistic motives that simply sought a new way of doing things that would be "better, quicker, and cheaper than by hard labor."[10] Also, the goal of "excellent quality and large quantity" stimulated the American inventor.[11] Finally, the records reveal that patriotism and Christian duty, whether sincere or calculated, induced innovation, a fact characterized by the calligraphic eagle and Masonic eye that adorned the patent application (fig. 1) of Emanuel Carpenter of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

No one can explore the patent schedules and applications and remain insensitive to the fact that persons at all levels accepted the machine as a basic part of American life; and, of the facts revealed, this would seem to be the most constituent and lasting. It makes little difference whether a patent was for a decorative steelyard (fig. 2) that weighed anything from "gold coins to hogs heads of sugar," for a loom (fig. 3) powered either manually or by "Horses, Water, Wind or Steam," for a new method of ad-

[9] Frederick A. Fickardt, Easton, Pennsylvania, in patent 23 (furnace for warming buildings), September 8, 1836.

[10] Thomas Bedwell, in patent for a method of obtaining a new yellow color, April 20, 1796 (restored patent); and Thomas Blanchard, New York, in patent 4 (a stock-shaving or rounding machine), August 10, 1836.

[11] Nathan Jacobs, Newark, Ohio, in patent 145 (improvement in dressing millstones), March 11, 1837.

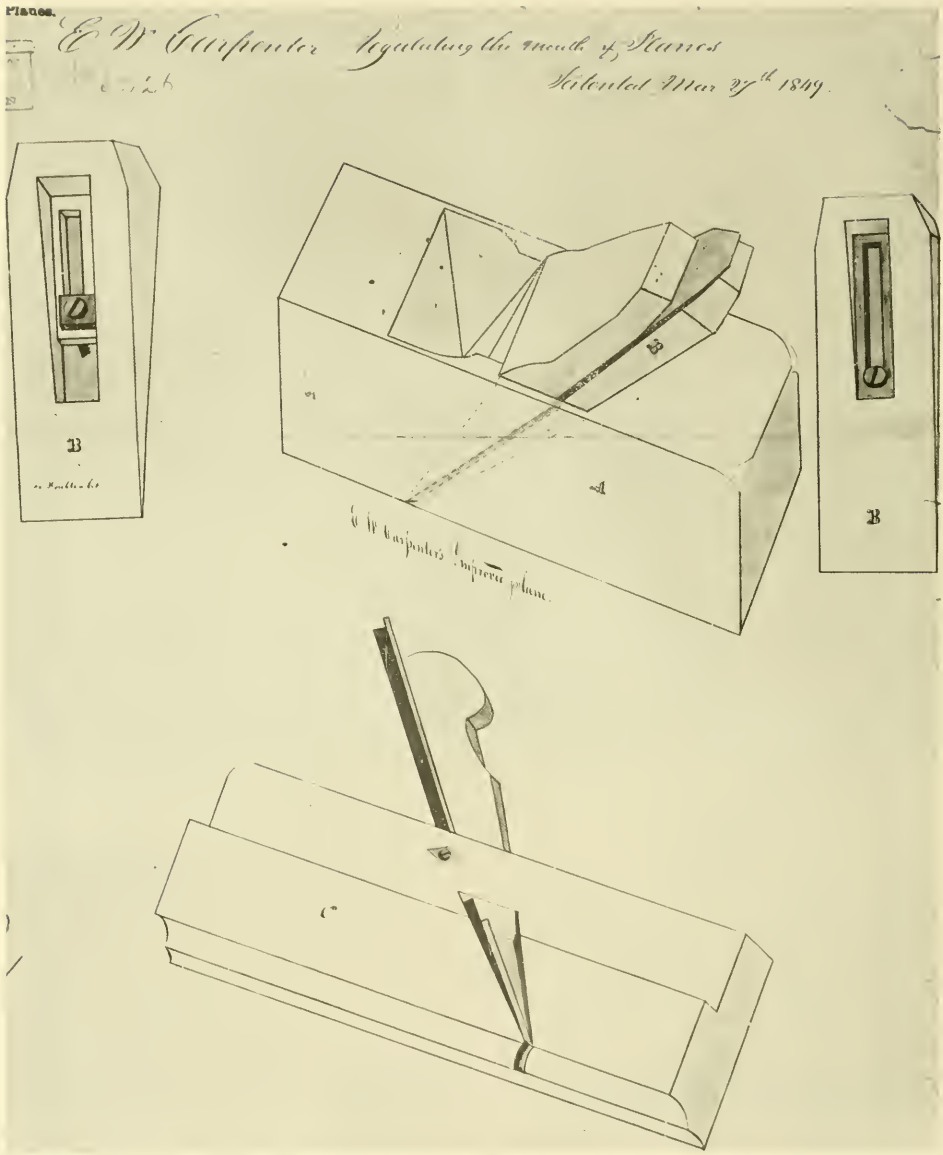


Figure 4.—Method for regulating the throats of planes invented by Emanuel W. Carpenter. Patent 6226, March 27, 1849.

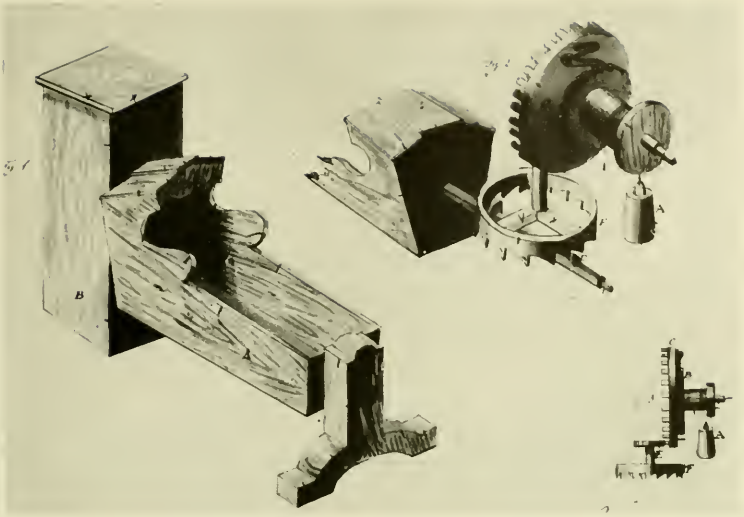


Figure 5.—Cradle and churn propeller patented by Ezra Whitman, March 27, 1835 (restored patent 8726X).

justing and regulating the "throats of planes" (fig. 4), or for a self-propelled cradle and churn (fig. 5) driven by a "clock work" escapement. Individually and collectively, all machine patents suggest a public attitude that welcomed technical improvement. Surely the penchant for invention strongly reinforces the contention that well before the 1830's there had already developed, in the United States, a vocal and well-defined "industrial consciousness." [12]

Patents and Standard of Living

But what of more tangible things? How, for example, may living standards be assessed from the patent records? A count of the number of patents granted for improved household furnishings listed by Edmund Burke, *Patents for Inventions and Designs, Issued by the United States from 1790 to 1847*, reveals that there were nearly 600 "machines and implements for domestic purposes," including such items as bedbug repellents and writing desks, and that no less than 228 washing machines were awarded letters.[13] This large number of patents for household appliances reflects an increased standard of living in a new nation where comfort and convenience gradually emerged as middle-class prerequisites newly compatible with the older gospel of "Poor Richard."

The researcher will certainly be struck by the great increase in pianoforte patents between 1830 and 1847.[14] Why is it that no less than 49 out of the 60 were granted in this 17-year period? Is this merely the old story of one invention triggering a host of variations or is it a positive reaction by inventors to something new in the society? Had Jackson's victory at the polls put a piano in every parlor? Had scores of music-loving German immigrants aroused a new interest in music? Is this but another sign of increased leisure in a society where young women now found time to supplement artistic dabbling with recitals at the piano instead of an extra hour at the loom or wheel? Or is it purely a response to a technical

[12] Samuel Resneck, "The Rise and Early Development of Industrial Consciousness in the United States, 1760–1830," *The Journal of Economic and Business History* (August 1932), vol. 4, pp. 784–811.

[13] Edmund Burke, *Patents for Inventions and Designs, Issued by the United States from 1790 to 1847*, pp. 307–318.

[14] Ibid., pp. 325–326.

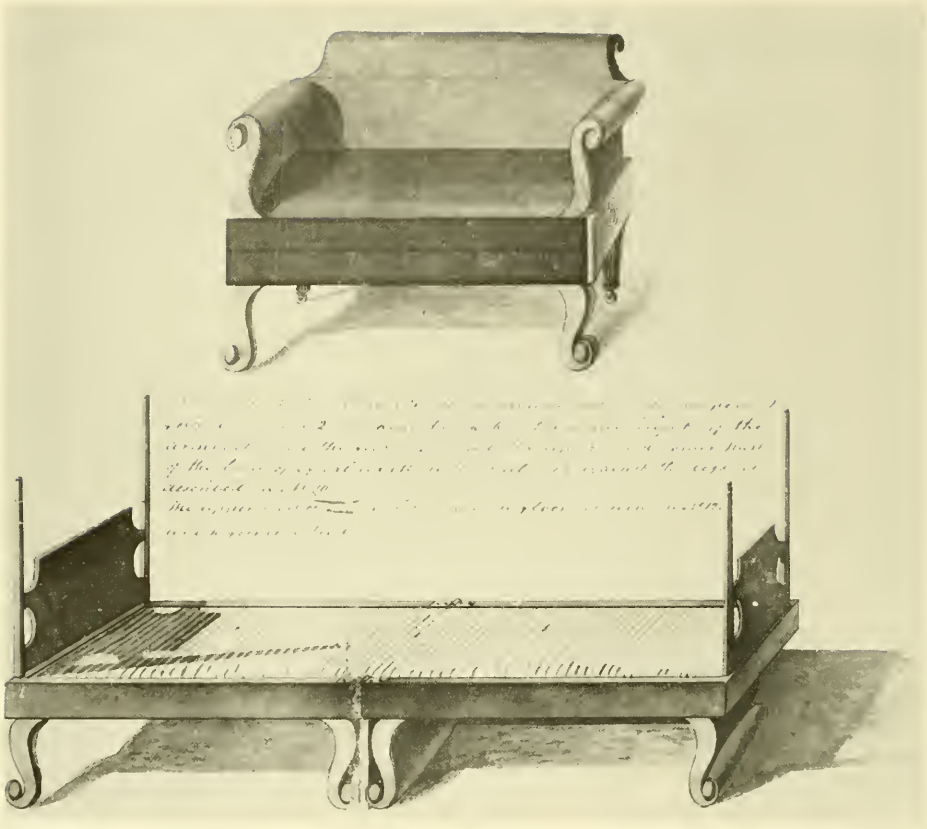


Figure 6.—Sofa-bedstead designed by Benjamin Morris, January 17, 1835 (restored patent 8608½X).

advance, the application of the metal frame to piano construction, that caused the rash of invention? The answers may lie in the patent records.

The patent drawings are no less provocative than the applications in reflecting how people lived. One is immediately curious about the popularity of combination or convertible furniture, first appearing in quantity in the 1830's.[15] The drawings submitted by Benjamin Morris of Richmond, Ohio, in 1835 for a combination trunk, sofa, and bedstead provide an intriguing example (fig. 6). What stimulated the building of this type of furniture? A host of inferences spring to life. Had increased urbanization brought crowded living quarters, thus making the combination piece more suitable for persons of moderate income and modest surroundings? Was it a reflection of a people in motion, a solution in furniture design to suit a society in flux?

When Morris' drawings are related to their accompanying description, some of the questions are answered. In addition, the value of both to the social historian becomes clearer. In his patent specification

[15] Ibid., pp. 307–318.

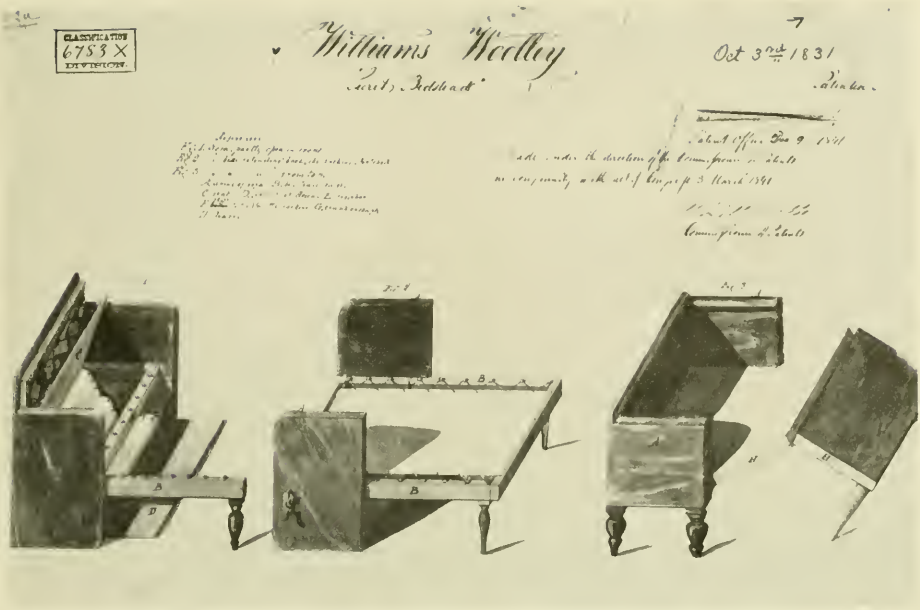


Figure 7.—Beds were disguised as bureaus, sofas, settees, and presses by William Woolley of New York, and patented on October 3, 1831 (restored patent 6783X).

of January 17, 1835, Morris wrote:

The ostensible design . . . is to accommodate travellers by land and water, but more especially on Steam and Canal Boats; being calculated for a safe conveyance of all such articles as are commonly conveyed in Trunks, either by land or sea, affording the proprietor at the same time, not only a comfortable bed on which he may repose at night . . . but the means of saving himself and property in case of accidents, such as the sinking or burning of the Boate, in which he is travelling, by floating, himself and Trunk, to shore, by means of cork provided for that purpose.

But Morris does not stop here. The merits of his creation as a bed and a settee were still to be considered:

Likewise the Berth . . . when unfolded is the length of a common bed, and designed to be used in Offices, Colleges, and shops, being a neat and convenient piece of furniture. The settee is also a neat and convenient piece . . . and when used as a seat, it occupies but half the space of a common settee . . . and is designed for the use of private families, or in Cabins of Steamboats and other crafts, affording a seat by day and a bed at night.

Sickness and indisposition continued prevalent in American society and this, too, is reflected in the applications for patents. No doubt the constant presence of ill health and prolonged periods of recovery stimulated the designer of sickroom accouterments; if not, then the humanitarian spirit of the day surely did. Regardless of motive, the patentees claimed the saving of "much expense as well as room" to be the greatest advantage of their furniture. Ideas to improve the lot of the invalid abounded and innovators usually camouflaged the true identity of their masterpieces by mechanically converting them to more or less conventional types when not in use. William Woolley of New York City constructed the most appealing sickroom furniture and was in addition, a prolific designer of secret beds and convertible sofas for ordinary purposes. One of the earliest of Woolley's patents, a design for a "Secret Bedstead," detailed methods of hiding beds in "Presses, Bureaus, Sofas, etc." or in fact, in any object of sufficient size (fig. 7). Between 1830 and 1838 Woolley obtained

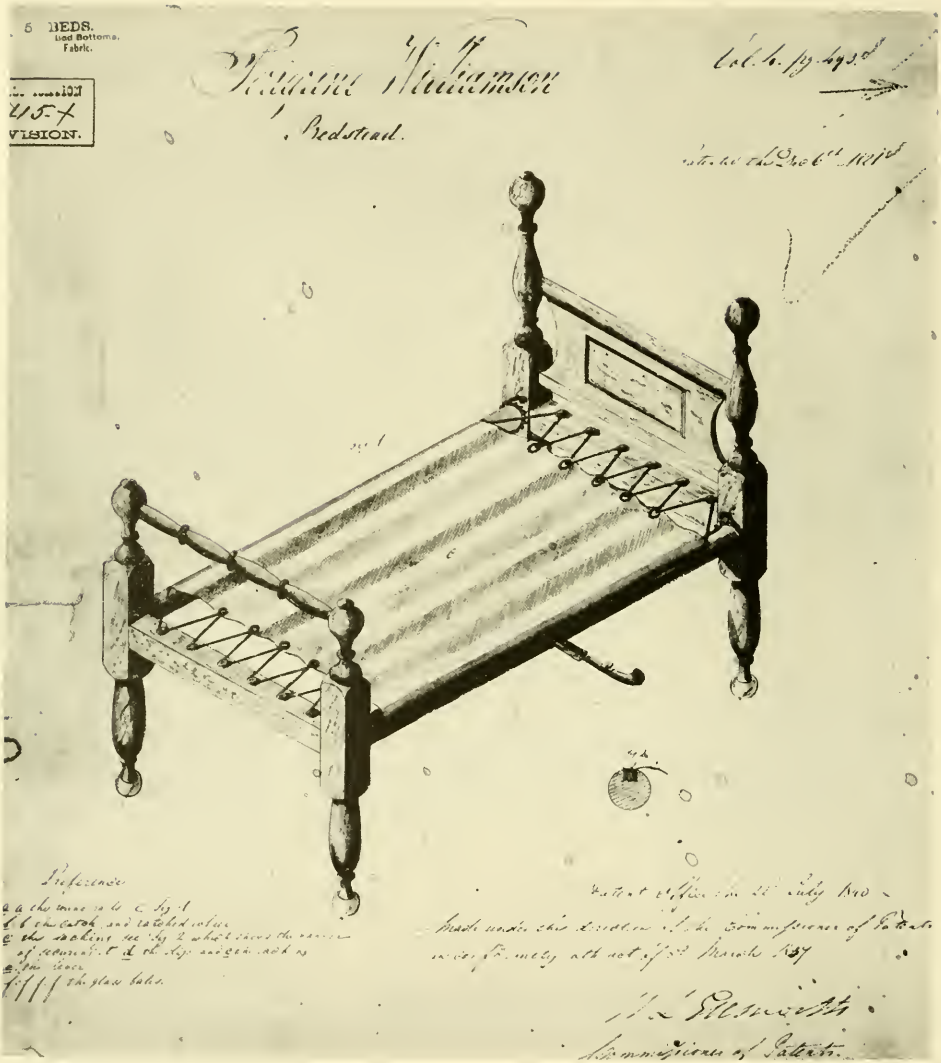


Figure 8.—Bedstead invented by Perigrine Williamson, for which a patent was issued on December 6, 1821 (restored patent 3415X).

Figure 9.—Apparatus for making and taking in sail invented by John Wade. Patent 101, December 6, 1836.

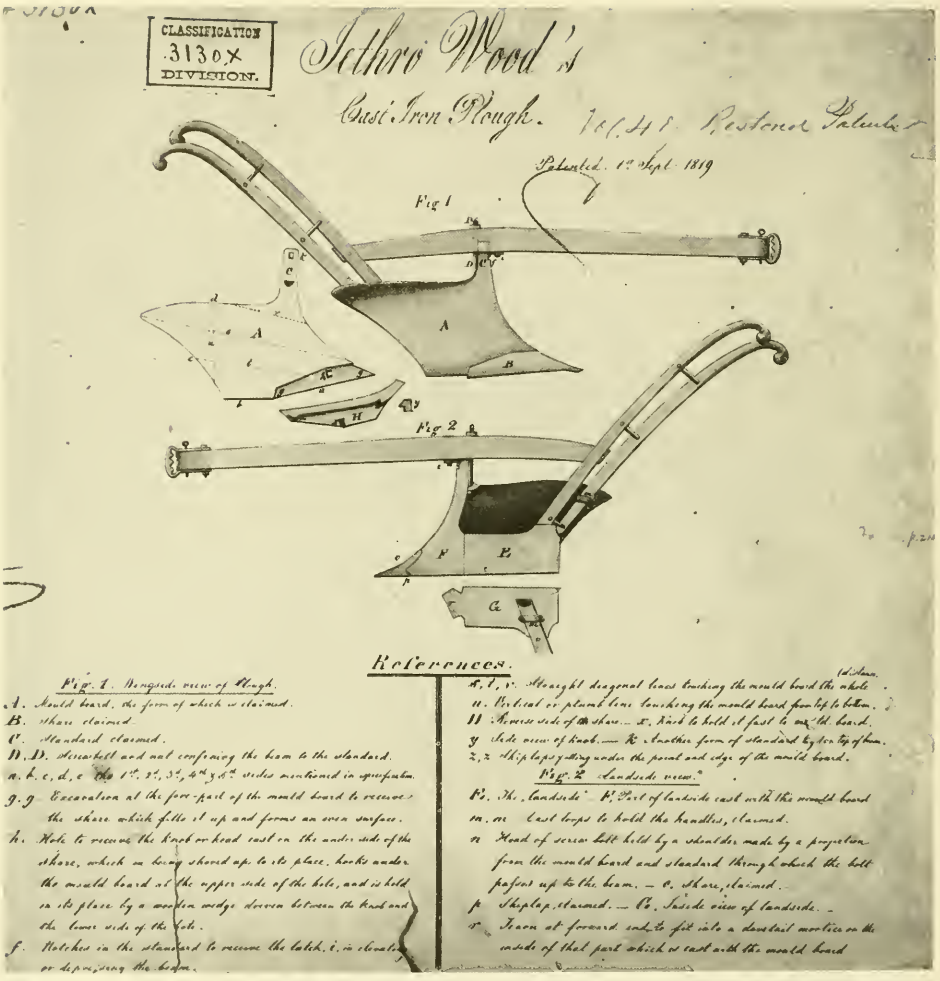

CLASSIFICATION
3130X
DIVISION.
Jethro Wood's
Cast Iron Plough.
Patented 1st Sept. 1819
Fig 1
Fig 2
References.
Fig. 1. Perspective view of Plough.
A. Mould board, the form of which is claimed.
B. Share claimed.
C. Standard claimed.
D.D. Sheerbolt and nut confining the beam to the standard.
a. b. c, d, e the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th & 5th strike mentioned in specification.
g.g. Excavation at the fore part of the mould board to receive the share which fills it up and forms an even surface.
h. Hole to receive the knob or head cast on the under side of the share, which on being shoved up to its place, hooks under the mould board at the upper side of the hole, and is held in its place by a wooden wedge driven between the knob and the lower side of the hole.
f. Notches in the standard to receive the catch, i. in elevating or depressing the beam.
x, t, v. Straight diagonal lines touching the mould board the whole (different
u. Vertical or plumb line touching the mould board from top to bottom.
H Reverse side of the share. x. Rivit to hold it fast to the mould board.
y Side view of knob. — K Another form of standard by the top of them.
z, z Ship lapp fitting under the point and edge of the mould board.
Fig. 2 Landside view.
F. The Landside. F. Part of landside cast with the mould board
m. m Cast loops to hold the handles, claimed.
n Head of screw bolt held by a shoulder made by a projection from the mould board and standard through which the bolt passes up to the beam. — C. share, claimed.
p Shiplap, claimed. — E. Inside view of landside. —
r Tenon at forward end to fit into a dovetail mortice on the inside of that part which is cast with the mould board

Figure 10.—Cast-iron plow patented by Jethro Wood on September 1, 1819 (restored patent 3130X).

patents for a variety of improvements on his original hideaway bed and seems to be the innovator of the style, at least as revealed in the patent records. "Moveable at pleasure," the "Sofa Bedstead" had one advantage that apparently has diminished in importance over the years; namely, that the bed and bedding were "inclosed in a tight box which effectually excludes all dust and air necessary to the existence of insects" (restored patents, Oct. 3, 1831).

This type of innovation was a direct response to steamboats, canals, reduced living space, long periods of convalescence, and a transient, hurrying society all represented visually in a patent drawing and confirmed in its specification. But there is more

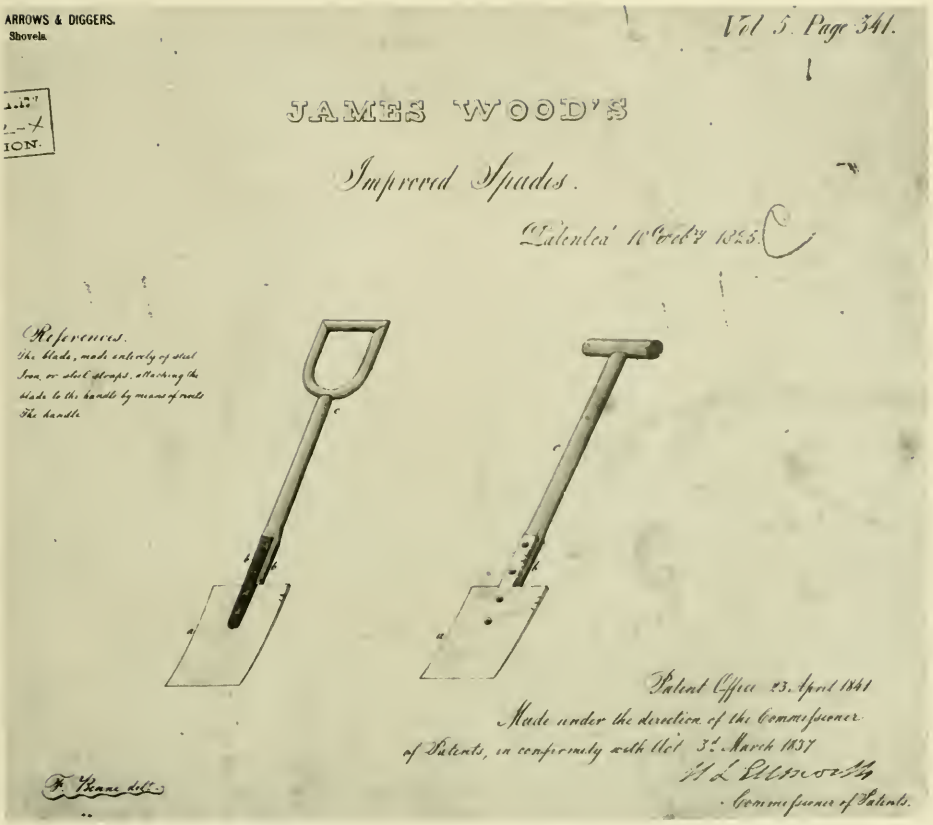


Figure 11.—Improved spades patented by James Wood, February 10, 1825 (restored patent 4022X).

to be gained than this from the patent records. The original manuscript petitions of patentees suggest the educational and social status of the inventors of the period. Carried a step further, the authors of our "anonymous history" might be properly identified and appraised in biographical sketches. Regional statistics, if assembled, might indicate that environment conditioned inventiveness, or that one section dominated all others in the number of its innovators. Drawing skills, draftsmanship, and artistic ability, in the society as a whole, can be estimated. It is even possible to study the conduct and machinery of a vast 19th-century editorial and publishing operation carried out by the Commissioner of Patents with knowledge of its routines. administrators, editors, and artists easily obtainable.

Patents and a Changing Technology

If it is debatable that the patent records do or do not suggest a favorable public attitude toward industrialization and improvement, it is surely unquestionable that they can indicate to the historian the Nation's technical level, capabilities, and accomplishments, both statistically and pictorially. Also,

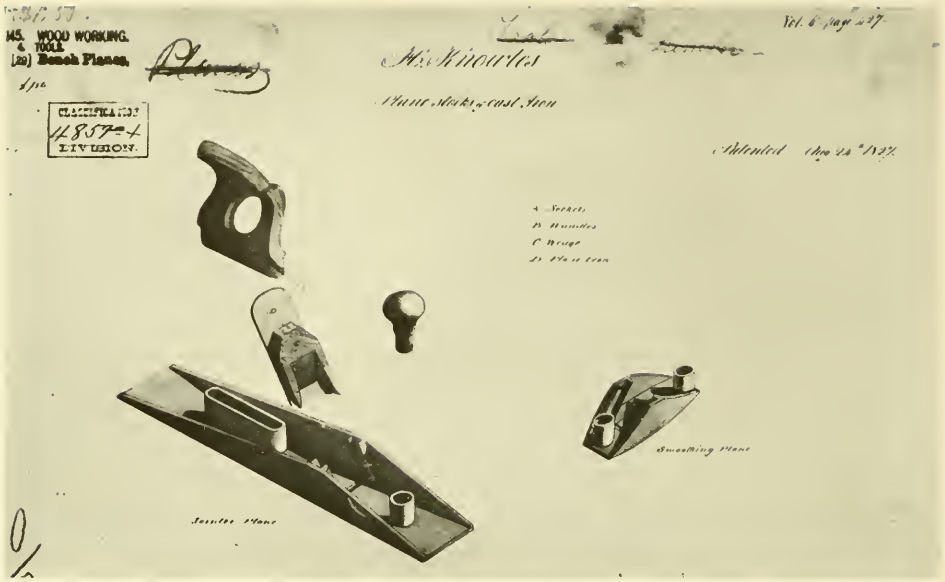


Figure 12.—Plane stocks of cast iron patented by Hazard Knowles on August 24, 1827 (restored patent 4859X).

Figure 13.—Cast-iron bench plane patented by William Foster. Patent 3355, November 24, 1843.

they strongly imply that the accepted view of a persisting and predominantly agrarian society might be revised in favor of an interpretation that finds mechanization well entrenched much earlier in the 19th century than generally credited. Again, to determine the validity of this, a close counting and analysis of the patents issued would be revealing and helpful to the cultural historian. Granted that the full impact of iron and steam is realized later, it remains a challenging fact that patentees, before 1850, seemed consumed with the application of both in proposing new ways of doing things. With the patent records as a historical guide, the manufacturing debut of the United States at the Great Exhibition at London's Crystal Palace in 1851 no longer seems an unexpected display of inventiveness, but an achievement for which the country had long prepared.

Examine closely the period 1790 to 1870 in terms of the Patent Office record and what is suggested. First, a society seeking, often naively, a mechanical solution to almost every problem of the day, one that devised agricultural machines, woodworking machines, machines to spin thread, remove smut, or pare apples. Inventors found themselves seduced by the mechanical, and many of them either designed beds "precisely upon the principle of a windless" (fig. 8) or, like John Wade, applied the same ideas to "making and taking in sail by means of a revolving yard on which the sail is wound" instead of reefed (fig. 9).

Secondly, a society takes shape that is already well advanced in finding new uses for iron and steel and how to mold them. The cast-iron plow (fig. 10), the steel-bladed spade (fig. 11), iron-bodied carpenter's tools (figs. 12–20), and the sheet-metal lifeboat (fig. 38) are primary examples. It seems quite natural to find that Jethro Wood of Poplar Ridge, New York, should state in the specification for his patent that he had "very little use for wrought iron" and wanted it clearly understood that the "principle metallic material" of his plow was "cast iron"—a material which he felt made it "stronger and better, as well as more lasting and cheap." It is interesting to note that Wood was completely wrong concerning the relative strength of wrought and cast iron, although correct about their longevity and price. No less surprising is the improvement in making shovels and spades—patented by James Wood of Philadelphia on February 10, 1825—that called for blades made "from a single piece of steel rolled to the proper dimensions and not hammered." Similarly, Hazard Knowles of

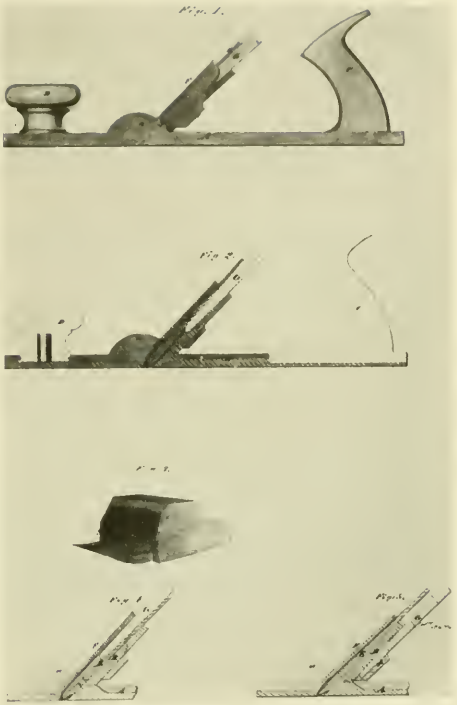


Figure 14.—Improvement in metal bench planes patented by Birdsill Holly. Patent 9094, July 6, 1852.

Colchester, Connecticut, inventor of the bench plane with a cast-iron stock, informed the Commissioner of Patents on August 24, 1827, that wood no longer seemed the best structural material even for the most traditional implements:

> The peculiar excellency of this kind of stock consists in this. That it is more durable than the common Stock of wood, that the face of it unlike that of the wooden will always keep in the same condition and not be like that constantly subject to wear and hollowness in the centre, and that the opening thro which the shaving passes will always retain the same width and that it can be afforded at a much cheaper price.

William Foster, a resident of the District of Columbia, patented a cast-iron bench plane in 1843 (fig. 13) and as had Knowles, he claimed that it would "run light and easy," being far superior to other planes in

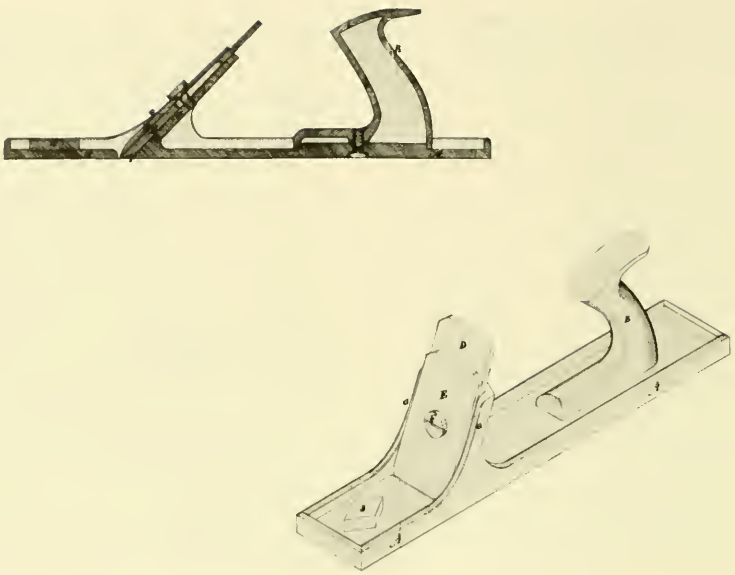


Figure 15.—Improved bench plane patented by George E. Davis. Patent 12787, May 1, 1855.

"durability, economy and convenience." Lightness and durability motivated both Birdsill Holly of Seneca Falls, New York, and George Davis of Lowell, Massachusetts. Holly, in 1852, suggested a means by which the width of the throat of the plane could be adjusted for various types of work—flexibility achieved in a metal medium that would have been most difficult in wood (fig. 14). In 1855, Davis described an "iron plane-stock and a new method of attaching the cutting irons to the stocks to be used by carpenters and woodworkmen" (fig. 15). Davis' patent specification stated:

> The nature of my invention consists in constructing the main body of planes, molding tools. &c., of metal, which being very thin, presents little or no impediment to the shavings passing out as they are cut from the wood, using an iron or wood handle attached to these planes. By means of the lower portion of the plane stock thus made, the hand of the operator is very near the face of the plane when it is used and consequently equally near the face of the stock which is being dressed. And my invention farther consists in securing the cutting Irons to the iron or other plane or tool stock, by means of a single screw (instead of the old chip) which screw secures both the cap and the cutting iron together, and both of them to the iron tool or plane stock, and by forming a lip in the back part of the throat so as to fill it and thus give a smooth even surface to the face of the plane . . . .

Two patentees—E. G. Storke, in 1869, most likely an inmate of Auburn prison at Auburn, New York, and Ellis H. Morris, in 1870, of Salem, Ohio—specified innovations designed to make metallic planes move more easily over wood surfaces (figs. 16 and 17). To this end, Storke wrote in his specification that "it has long been known to mechanics that metallic planes have adhered to the wood much closer than wooden planes," and to correct this, he recommended grooving, fluting, or channeling the face of the plane. Morris confirmed the friction-reducing value of the longitudinal grooves in his specification and added that "casting the body of the plane with a series of intersecting ribs, covering the entire face," resulted in a tool of greater lightness and strength.

Fascinating among these patent drawings of metallic planes are those that depart from traditional shapes; and, interestingly, although the several patentees succeeded in introducing new forms, they were all

Figure 16.—Grooved face for metallic planes patented by E. G. Storke. Patent 96052, October 19, 1869.

consistent in one respect—their quest for multipurpose solutions through the perfection of the combination tool. William Loughborough, of Rochester, New York, in 1859, invented an "Iron Fillister-Plane, the principles of which are applicable . . . to panel-plows, match-planes, dados, rabbets, and to bench-planes." How did Loughborough propose to accomplish this? First, referring to his drawing (fig. 18), by

the construction of an iron stock for fillisters, dados, rabbets, match-planes, and panel-plows; second, in the construction of a parallel fence, F, for fillisters and match-planes; third, in the construction and arrangement of a stop, P, moving diagonally to the line of pressure upon it, the same being applicable to the dado and panel-plow; fourth, in the application and arrangement of the spring cap, C, in combination with the screw 2 or any other adjustable or fixed fulcrum; fifth, the combination of the adjusting screw 1 with the bit, B, and spring cap, C; sixth, the application and arrangement of the spur, M.

Charles Miller, of Brattleborough, in 1870, detailed a plane readily "convertible into a grooving, rabbeting or smoothing-plane," one later manufactured by the Stanley Plane and Level Company (fig. 19). The same year an even more amazing piece of Yankee ingenuity, as well as a departure from the traditional, was a plane patented by Russell Phillips (fig. 20). The multipurpose urge that prompted so many American innovations is nowhere better described than in Phillips' specification:

This invention combines in one implement elementary features now only found in several independent tools, the result being a great saving in space in transportation, as well as in stores and carpenters' shops, and enabling a mechanic to obtain, at small comparative cost and in a compact and efficient form, the substitutes for several classes of planes.

I have combined in this instrument a rabbeting-plane and an expansible matching-plane, to operate on and prepare

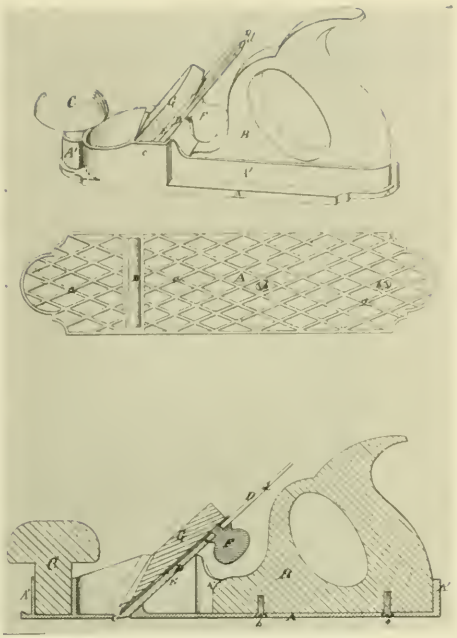


Figure 17.—Metallic plane patented by E. H. Morris. Patent 109037, November 8, 1870.

boards of various thicknesses, one side of said rabbeting-plane serving as a fence or guide to the latter, as hereinafter explained.

While this invention consists, primarily, of the combination of a rabbeting-plane and an expansible matching-plane, the latter, in turn, will be found to consist of several members, or organized as to enable one to produce a "tongued groove-connection," called "matching stuff," a "cross-channel," or a "plowed groove of any desired dimensions."

Were these innovations suggested by patentees practical? Indeed, David McHardy thought they were since with such tools "the work is not only better done but in less time than formerly." By the year of McHardy's comments (1876), there were iron-bodied planes for every purpose, and their finish varied "according to requirement; some were ground and japanned, others polished, and some nickel-plated, the higher finish being on the smaller sizes." By 1876, one American manufacturer alone

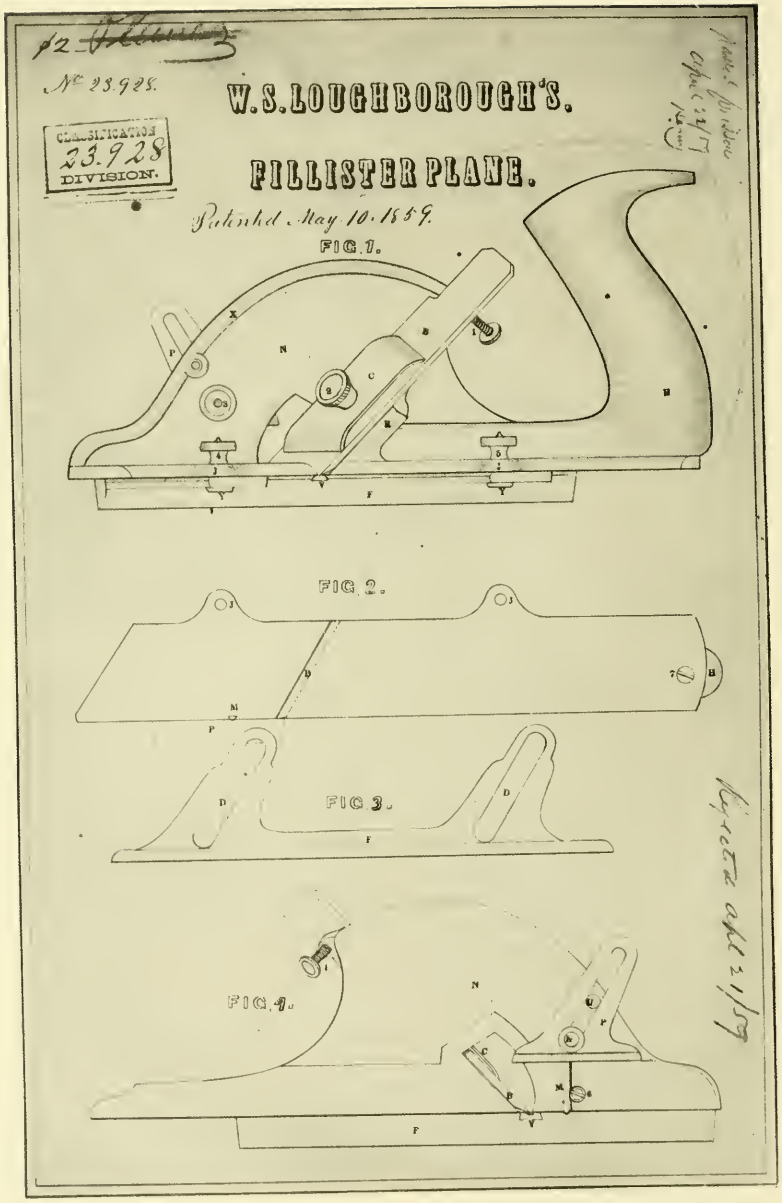


Figure 18.—Fillister plane invented by W. S. Loughborough. Patent 23928, May 10, 1859.

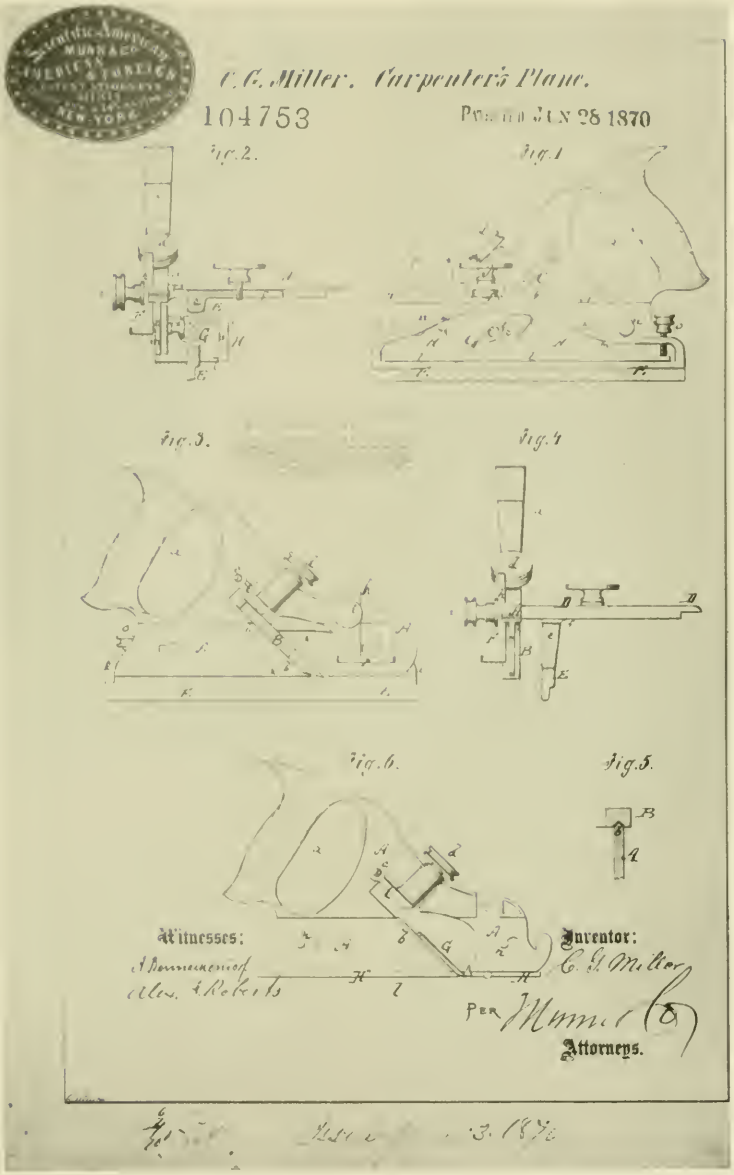


Figure 19.—Carpenter's plane patented by C. G. Miller. Patent 104753, June 28, 1870.

Figure 20.—Carpenter's combination plane patented by Russell Phillips. Patent 106868, August 30, 1870.

had already produced 80,000 iron bench planes.[16]

The patent drawings of tools, particularly the planes from 1820 forward, confirm McHardy's statements, and in addition, they document original appearance and, on occasion, even reflect attitudes that prompted innovation. The original appearance of a plane, for example, is often impossible to determine after years of disuse, particularly after gathering dirt and dust beneath an old carpenter's bench which had been long before relegated to the barn as a handy roost for chickens. The character of a tool's finish is frequently severely altered, but the watercolor drawings submitted by many a patentee will provide the restorer with an excellent guide to original color and desired finish.

The patent drawings richly document the fact that, in wood at least, the basic design of the hand plane had reached perfection and that innovators when not seeking to break entirely with traditional forms were most often concerned with minuscule improvements or, as already seen, with combining

[16] *United States Centennial Commission. International exhibition, 1876. Reports and Awards, Group I–36*, edit. Frances A. Walker; Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1877–1878. See Group 15 (builders' hardware, edge tools, cutlery, etc.), p. 13. McHardy was the English judge appraising the quality of edge tools at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876.

Figure 21.—Improvement in tongue and groove planes patented by Emanuel W. Carpenter on January 30, 1830 (restored patent 5807X).

several functions within one tool. Emanuel Carpenter's patent of 1830 for the improvement of tongue and groove planes, and that of 1838 for a method of making and applying the screw arms on all types of planes are splendid examples: in each, the basic shape of the plow, the molding plane, and the smoothing plane remain unchanged (figs. 21 and 22). Similar is William Reynolds' delineation of the trying plane to support his patent application of 1832 for the control and adjustment of the double iron (blade). No alteration appears in the body of the plane itself, and the drawing stands as a first-rate, contemporary illustration of one of the most familiar of woodworking tools (fig. 23). Few contemporary illustrations excel the watercolor representation of James Herman's tongue and groove planes submitted to the Commissioner of Patents in 1835 (fig. 24). Again, nothing new, not even a screw arm, disturbs the familiar configuration of these planes, and only

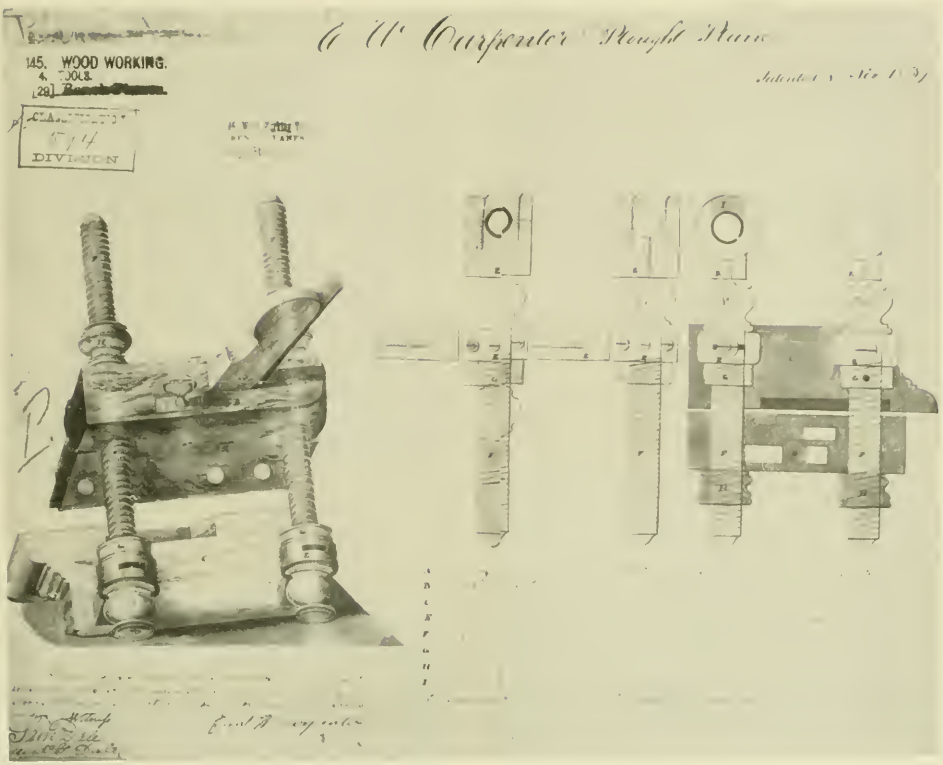


Figure 22.—PLOW PLANE patented by Emanuel W. Carpenter. Patent 594, February 6, 1838.

the insertion of rollers to help move the fence (the purpose of the patent) mars their traditional shape. Read the detailed specification submitted in 1860 by Charles Fleming, and examine his patent drawing (fig. 25) for a molding plane, the most prosaic of woodworking tools. The patentee wrote:

I, Charles Fleming, of the city of Ypsilanti, in Washtenaw, county and State of Michigan, have invented a new and useful Improvement on Tools for Making Quarter-Round and Ogee Moldings, the board to be worked standing on edge, which I call "Fleming's self-regulating quarter-round and ogee molding tool;" and I do hereby declare that the following is a full, clear, and exact description of the construction and operation of the same, reference being had to the annexed drawings, making a part of this specification, in which the figure represents a perspective of the quarter-round tool as arranged and prepared for use.

A represents the body of the quarter-round tool as commonly made.

B, B represents the key holding the iron in place.

C, C represents the iron-and E, the face gage.

Parts so far described represent the common form of this tool.

D, represents a wood or metal gage placed upon the side of the tool as seen in the figure, where it is attached and kept in place by the screws S, S, S.

In the ogee tool the same gage is applied in the same manner and with like effect. This gage can be applied with perfect success to any ordinary $^1/_4$ round or ogee tool.

To use the tools, either $^1/_4$ round or ogee, attach the gage D, as seen in the drawings. Let the iron C, C, be so ground and set in the tool that it shall cut a fair shaving at the face gage E, and scarcely cut at all at the side F. Set the board on edge in the vise of the workman, and apply the tool in the ordinary way, and when the work is complete, the gage D,

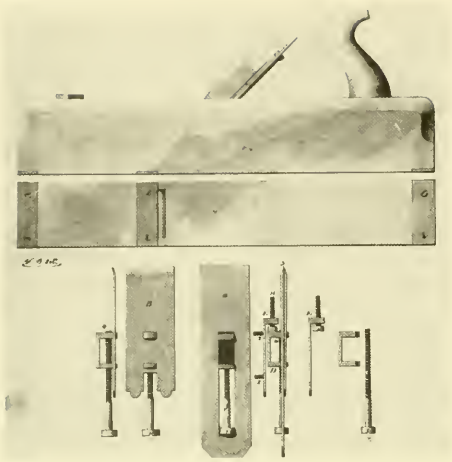


Figure 23.—Double-iron trying plane patented by William B. Reynolds on July 7, 1832 (restored patent 7158X).

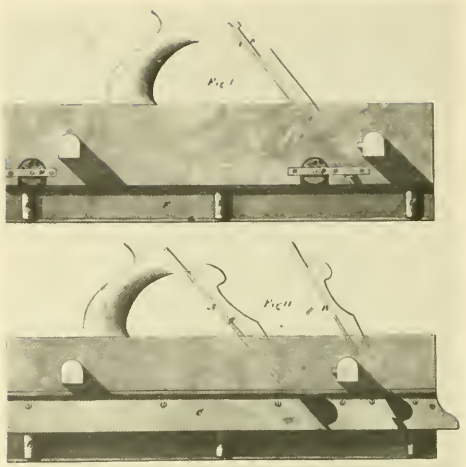


Figure 24.—Roller-grooving planes patented by James Herman on August 27, 1835 (restored patent 9055X).

will arrest the further working of the tool without thought or care on the part of the workman. While with the ordinary tool, without this self-regulating gage, the tool will continue to cut until the whole board is wasted, and its operation must be carefully watched by the workman, to arrest it at the proper time, and then the work will not be as perfect and uniform as with the gage D, added.

Fleming's patent only slightly modified the usual shape of the plane, and sought either to ease, to make more accurate, or to strengthen it. Metal additions did not always alter the configuration of the plane, and the old wood shapes persisted, only to be changed when, as seen above, metal entirely replaced wood in the body of the tool.

Patent drawings of tools other than planes give positive evidence of tool shapes at a given date. Observe the ferruled handles on the drawing knife patented by Edmund Richards in 1836 (fig. 26), or the scored handle and exaggerated claw on the "hammer-hatchet" patented by Joel Howe in 1834 (fig. 27). These details are particularly helpful guides to the more precise dating of tools in general. The ubiquitous spokeshave, always an enigma to those asked to date it, should be considerably less so with Ira L. Beckwith's patent drawing of 1837 (fig. 28) as a reference point. Although Beckwith's innovation—the insertion of a steel roller to facilitate drawing the shave—is relatively unimportant, his specification for a boxwood body and the configuration of the shave itself represent the standard form of this tool in the 19th century. No less significant is the drawing (fig. 29) of James Hayne's frame for a wood saw, first patented in 1859 and reissued in 1863—a prototype of all subsequent bucksaws.

The carpenter's chest is rounded out by Joel Bryant's mortising gauge (fig. 30) and Peter Bradley's adze (fig. 31); both represent the perfected form of each of these implements—shapes that were mass-manufactured and thus survive today in great quantity, frequently passing as ancient woodworking tools.

But it is not just in the tracing of the evolution of design that these visual materials are helpful; they also help to document the first extended use of new tools. The screwdriver, for example, is not a common tool prior to the 1840's. It was not until the appearance of the mass-manufactured, gimlet-pointed, wood screw that American inventors begin to patent screwdrivers in any great number. Before this date, reliable drawings of this tool are few in number. In 1865, George Parr of Buffalo, New York, specified an invention that gives not only an accurate picture of the screwdriver (fig. 32) of the period, but suggests as well the general advance in toolmaking. In the standard form required by the Patent Office, Parr communicated:

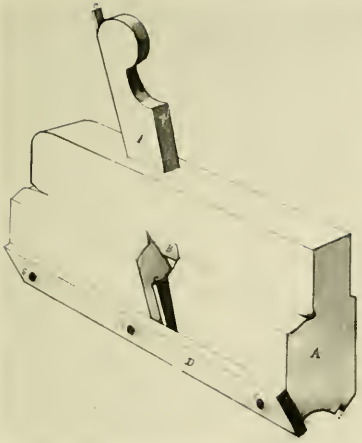


Figure 25.—Moulding plane invented by Charles Fleming. Patent 29962, September 11, 1860.

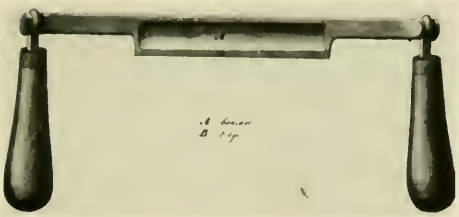


Figure 26.—Concave drawing knife patented by Edmund Richards on June 28, 1836 (restored patent 9796X).

Figure 27.—Hammer hatchet patented by Joel Howe on July 8, 1834 (restored patent 8291X).

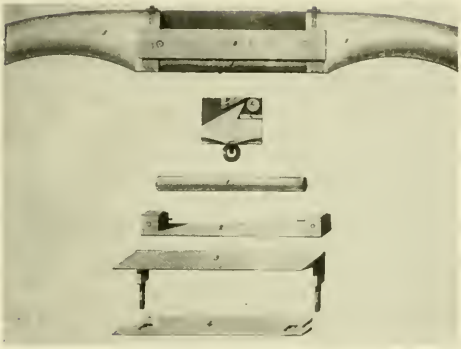


Figure 28.—Spokeshave patented by Ira L. Beckwith. Patent 184, April 29, 1837.

The nature of this invention consists in the manufacture of screw-driver blanks (or blades) and other like tools by a new mode or process which greatly reduces the cost of manufacture, and at the same time secures greater strength, symmetry, and perfection of the article when made.

To enable others skilled in the art to manufacture the said articles according to my improvement, I will describe my mode or process of manufacture.

In the first place I roll the metal from which the tool is to be made into plates or sheets by the application and use of mechanical devices common in rolling-mills. These plates are rolled three feet (more or less) in length, and of a width which just equals the length of the blank tool to be punched or cut therefrom, and a transverse section of which shall be the exact thickness and taper of the blank. These prepared metal sheets or plates are then taken to a punching-machine for punching or cutting the blank tool therefrom.

The punching-machine (which may be of common construction) is provided with suitable punches or dies for punching or cutting the blanks from the sheets or plates of metal, and are so accurately made that the blanks produced thereby, are nearly perfect in form, symmetry, strength, and finish. They are then put into the handle in a common manner.

The sheets or plates of metal are rolled thickest in the middle with a gradual taper each way from the middle to the edge. This is done in order to properly distribute the metal and proportionate it in such parts of the blade as will insure the requisite strength in all its parts without detriment to the form and symmetry of the article. Hence,

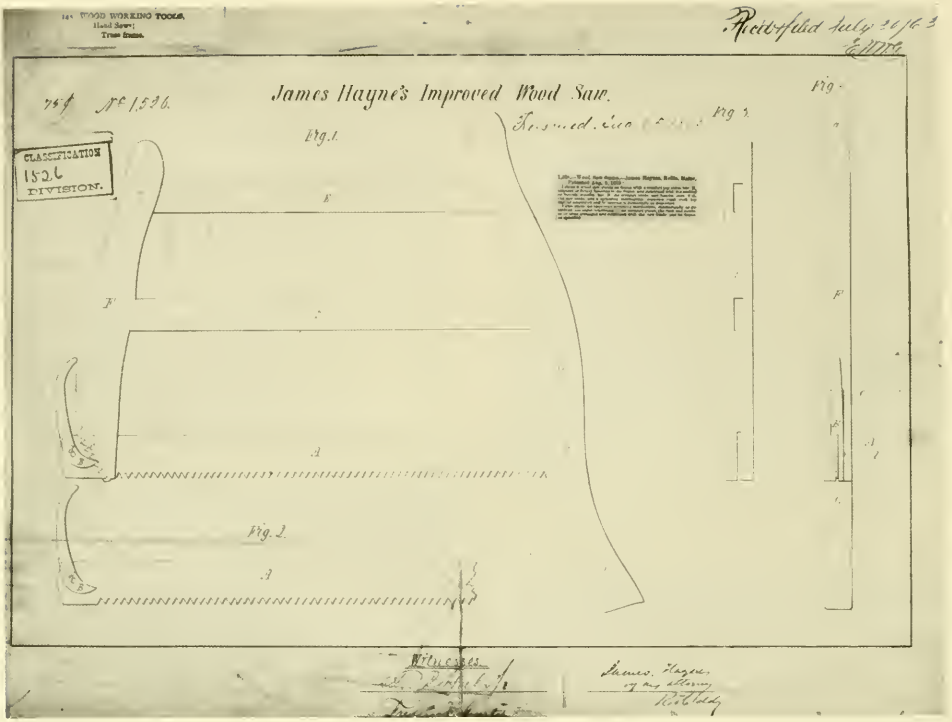


Figure 29.—Improved wood saw patented by James Hayne on August 9, 1859; reissue no. 1526, August 25, 1863.

although there is less width at the middle of the blade or blank, (occasioned by the scallops a a, which scallops are necessary in order to preserve the symmetry of the article,) yet there is greater thickness, and, consequently, requisite strength.

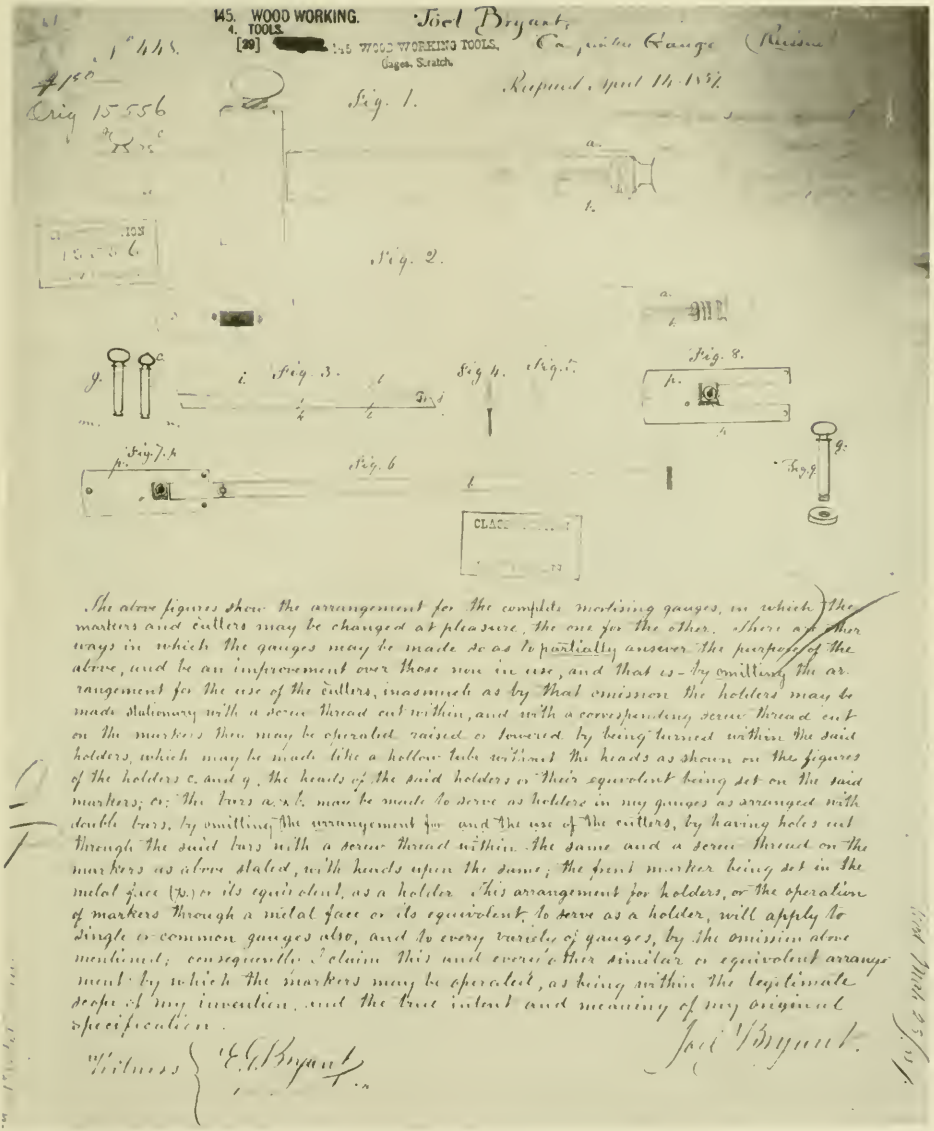
The sheets or plates are rolled of different thicknesses and widths, according to the size and quality of the tool designed to be made therefrom, and dies or punches are made of different sizes to correspond.

It is obvious that this process is a great saving in the cost of manufacture. At least one hundred per cent. is saved by this process, and a more uniform, perfect, and better article is produced, and furnished to the public at a much less expense.

It is doubly rewarding to those interested in the provenance of design characteristics to repeat Parr's statement that the scalloped blade, still retained today in screwdrivers of British manufacture, was not intended to improve the function of the tool but rather "to preserve the symmetry of the article."[1]

In much the same fashion as the screwdriver, the common clawhammer eluded the illustrators except as a symbolic device in art. Primarily, this seems due to the persistence of mortise and tenon architecture where the treenail took the place of the nail and where the auger and wooden-headed maul were the builder's most frequent companions. But with the coming of the cheap nail and the balloon frame, the clawhammer became a more familiar object. In the patent drawings will be found the most precise renderings of the hammer, graphic evidence that fairly establishes this as the earliest appearance of the clawhammer as it is known today.

A New Hampshire man, Phineas Eastman, of Canaan, in 1838, sent to Washington his specifications for an improvement in "the Manufacture of Socket hammers & hatchets" that detailed the construction



The above figures show the arrangement for the complete marking gauges, in which the markers and cutters may be changed at pleasure, the one for the other. There are other ways in which the gauges may be made so as to partially answer the purpose of the above, and be an improvement over those now in use, and that is - by omitting the arrangement for the use of the cutters, inasmuch as by that omission the holders may be made stationary with a screw thread cut within, and with a corresponding screw thread cut on the markers they may be operated, raised or lowered by being turned within the said holders, which may be made like a hollow tube without the heads as shown on the figures of the holders c. and g. the heads of the said holders or their equivalent being set on the said markers; or the bars a. b. may be made to serve as holders in my gauges as arranged with double bars, by omitting the arrangement for and the use of the cutters, by having holes cut through the said bars with a screw thread within. the same and a screw thread on the markers as above stated, with heads upon the same; the front marker being set in the metal face (x.) or its equivalent, as a holder. This arrangement for holders, or the operation of markers through a metal face or its equivalent, to serve as a holder, will apply to single or common gauges also, and to every variety of gauges, by the omission above mentioned; consequently I claim this and every other similar or equivalent arrangement by which the markers may be operated, as being within the legitimate scope of my invention, and the true intent and meaning of my original specification.

Witness { E. G. Bryant
Joel Bryant.

Figure 30.—Carpenter's gauge patented by Joel Bryant. Patent 15556, reissue no. 448, April 14, 1857.

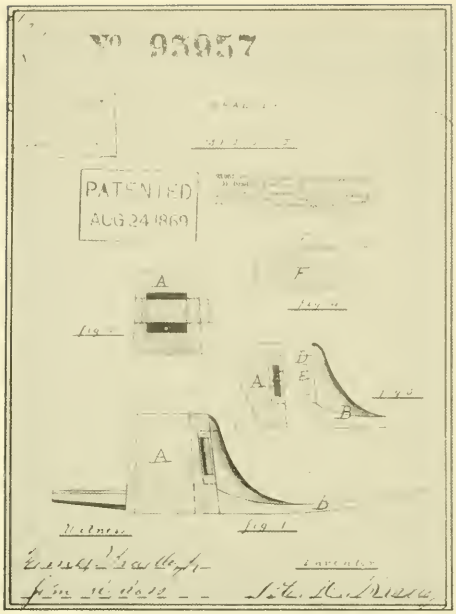


Figure 31.—Improved adze designed by Peter H. Bradley. Patent 93957, August 24, 1869.

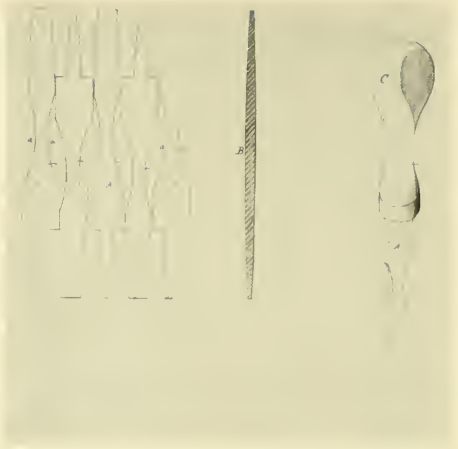


Figure 32.—Improved screwdriver designed by George Parr. Patent 45854, January 10, 1865.

of a handle which could be screwed into the striking head of the tool. In July 1839, Eastman's patent was granted, and the drawing that supported it provides a classic illustration of the octagonal claw-hammer head characteristic of the early 19th century (fig. 33). The worth of Eastman's patent today lies mostly in the original watercolor drawing of his invention—a primary source for the study of the evolution of tool design. Another patentee concerned with fixing the heads of clawhammers to their handles was Charles Hammond, of Philadelphia, who, like Eastman, provided a notably clear delineation of the common hammerhead (fig. 34). Survivals of this innovation, patented in 1847, are frequently seen. Of his invention Hammond wrote:

> The straps of claw hammers, and of others that are furnished therewith, have been connected with the hammer head in different ways, sometimes by welding them firmly, sometimes by allowing them to pass through the eye, and to clip over on the face of the hammer head, and sometimes they have been made to fill the whole of the eye on the face part of the hammer. I have in my improved hammer adopted a method of securing the straps in place, by a device more simple, and more easily executed than any of those heretofore followed, while it is free from the objections which exist against some of them, and introduces no new one; I am consequently enabled to put a perfect article into market at less cost than usual by which I produce a public benefit.
>
> The straps of my hammers may be placed on the sides or on the upper or lower parts of the eye, as may be preferred, both of which manners of placing them are well known. They consist of two strips of iron which are to be of equal, or nearly equal thickness, throughout their whole length, but they are widened out at that end which holds in the eye, and their edges are beveled, or made dovetailing, and fill a corresponding beveled, or dovetailed, opening made in the eye. When these straps are in place the handle is driven in between them and the whole is finished off flush with the hammer face.

The modern hammer, freed from its octagonal shape, can be seen in two patents of 1866: one submitted by W. G. Ward; the other, by Christopher Dodge. Ward's contribution, aside from its excellent documentary drawing, is a poignant reminder that whether in Savona, New York, Ward's home, or elsewhere, the prevalence of the Civil War amputee had a profound effect, serving even as a stimulus for invention (fig. 35). Dodge, from Providence, Rhode Island, reflected in his patent the predilection of

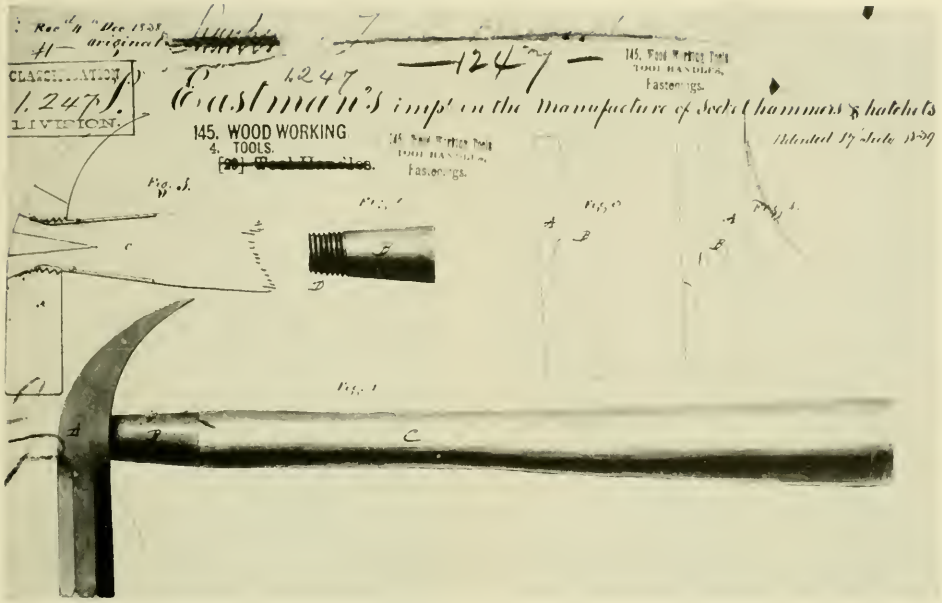


Figure 33.—Improvement in the manufacture of socket hammers and hatchets patented by Phineas Eastman. Patent 1247, July 17, 1839.

inventors for the combination tool (fig. 36); but in addition to this, Dodge included in his specification a significant comment: "For household use," he wrote, "no tools are more frequently in requisition than the hammer and the screw-driver." Here, indeed, was evidence of a changed society, a new order of things marked by mass-produced hardware available within the home—fixtures applied by two basic tools, one of which had been scarcely known a hundred years before.

In 1867, Henry Cheney, of Little Falls, New York, received letters patent for an "Improvement in the construction of Hammers." Although lacking the social commentary of Ward's patent, Cheney, by illustration (fig. 37) and description, clearly terminated the evolution of the clawhammer when he wrote:

> This invention relates to a new manner of forming the sockets of wrought-iron hammers, and consists in making the same of malleable iron, and brazing, soldering, or otherwise securing it to the head.
>
> Hammers are generally made of cast iron but wrought-iron hammers are far superior, and in greater demand than any other kind. But it is not only very difficult to form the socket on a wrought-iron hammer, but also to find sound enough iron to form the socket on.
>
> My invention is designed to overcome all these difficulties, and to provide a hammer which combines the strength and durability of a wrought-iron hammer with the facility of construction of a cast-iron hammer.
>
> A represents the head of a hammer made of wrought-iron of the usual shape. B is the socket, cast of malleable iron, in the usual shape, and provided with tapering tips, or flanges, a a, which fit into corresponding recesses in the head A, as shown in fig. 2. The socket is brazed, soldered, riveted, or otherwise secured to the head. The face and claws of the hammer may be made of steel, and the most improved kind of hammer can thus be made at the least possible expense. The handle C of the hammer is made in the usual manner, and secured in the ordinary style.

Thus, the hammer head as once forged by the local smith had become an anachronism by contrast to the crisp, efficient lines achieved by Cheney.

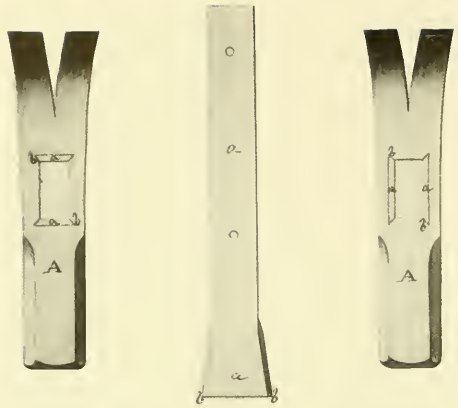


Figure 34.—Hammerhead designed by Charles Hammond. Patent 4934, January 19, 1847.

But perhaps more indicative of the increased use of iron and steel than any of the above was Joseph Francis' patent of March 26, 1845 (fig. 38), for the manufacture of sheet-iron boats "pressed into form" from a one-piece die and matrix.

Lastly, the patent records reveal a society in which, as Samuel F. B. Morse wrote Fenimore Cooper in 1833, "*Improvement* is all the rage." [17] The era that believed passionately in the perfectability of the individual chose mechanical as well as spiritual means to achieve it. Of course, these are neither new nor original revelations. What is new and significant is to find them supported in such depth, in a place long known but little explored.

Often the historian is required to define culturally a broad span of years—to bound, so to speak, a period's limits and its accomplishments in terms of ideas and events. Contrast James Wood's improved spade of 1825 (fig. 11) with Carmichael and Osgood's excavator of 1846 (fig. 39); or Ezra L'Hommedieu's auger of 1809 (fig. 40) with Merrick's screw wrench (fig. 41) of the 1830's and 1840's? Note the manually operated shovel, albeit of steel, that together with blasting powder, the pickax, and the Irish, opened the era of canalization. Compare it to the steam-operated, iron-jawed excavator that readied the course of railroads and canals, diverted rivers,

[17] Samuel F. B. Morse, *His Letters and Journals*, edit. Edward Lind Morse (Boston, 1914), vol. 2, p. 22. See Samuel Morse to James Fenimore Cooper, Feb. 21, 1833.

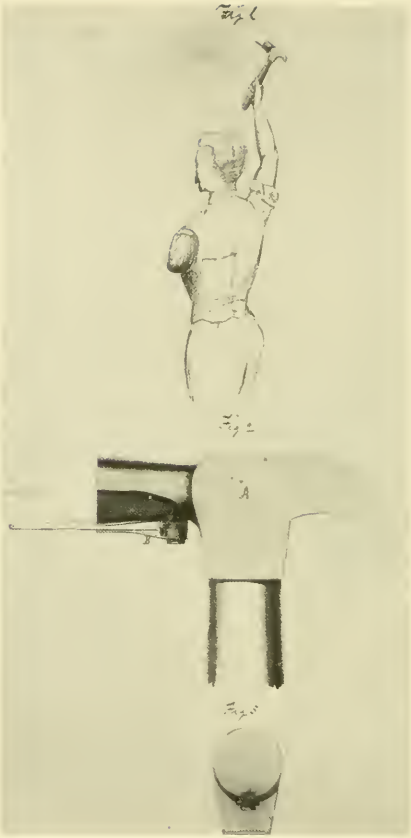


Figure 35.—Improvement in hammers patented by W. G. Ward. Patent 56838, July 31, 1866.

dredged harbors, and vastly speeded the construction of civil works and conserved human resources. Do not these objects, in fact, meaningfully define the period by illustrating its several levels of technology? If nothing more, they are an indication of the rapid change that took place in American life in the span of 80 years.

Other patents document this in an equally significant and dramatic manner. Consider the L'Hommedieu double-podded, center-screw auger and the Merrick screw wrench. Each is of interest in itself. For instance, L'Hommedieu's patent specification of the auger is full of information.

The auger at the end of which enters the timber has a screw in the centre which supercedes the necessity of a gouge. The auger as its name implies is made with two pods directly opposite to each other and at the extremities of each pod next the screw are two sharp lips, for cutting the timber. The auger may be made of any dimension. The shaft and handles like those in common use otherwise at the pleasure of the owner. The great superiority of this auger over any other in use consists in its being more strong and durable, in turning much easier, boring faster and drawing out of the hole with more ease.

Likewise, Solyman Merrick's screw wrench would be of interest if only to know that its patent was renewed and extended through 1851.

Yet, the auger and wrench are suggestive of something more. Both tools facilitate building and construction. The former is in response to a system based on the mortise, tenon, and treenail as the standard structural fastenings, while the latter marks the beginning of modern construction practice characterized by mass-produced hardware—bolts, nuts, screws, and nails. The auger is medieval—the companion piece of the broadax, the beetle, the mortising chisel, and the adze—the wrench, on the other hand, is associated with the screwdriver, the hammer, the gimlet-pointed screw, and the factory-made nail—all, in their perfected form, symbols of the 19th century. Each expresses a level of technology. One, a composite of wood, water power, and heavy timber construction; the other, a synthesis of iron, steam, and a lighter building frame of either wood or steel. Thus, specific objects, whether a shovel or a steam dredge, an auger or a wrench, can symbolize the most significant ideas and techniques of a period. The historian will find the patent files rich indeed if he examines them in terms of the concepts and ideas that created them.

Patents and the Cultural Historian

The understanding of what objects mean in terms of the times that produced them is an important problem encountered by the cultural historian working in the museum field. But, he also faces a much lesser one, simply that of identity; and, once again, the patents are of value. The most elusive survivals to trace are invariably the commonplace, and these are often exactly what the patent records best exemplify. Usually patentees were largely unconcerned with elegant furniture, exquisite silver, and fine china. But, whether of the finer sort or not is really unimportant because the drawings serve, regardless of an object's status, as a guide to original color and finish, to decoration and design, and to integrity of form as well as purpose.

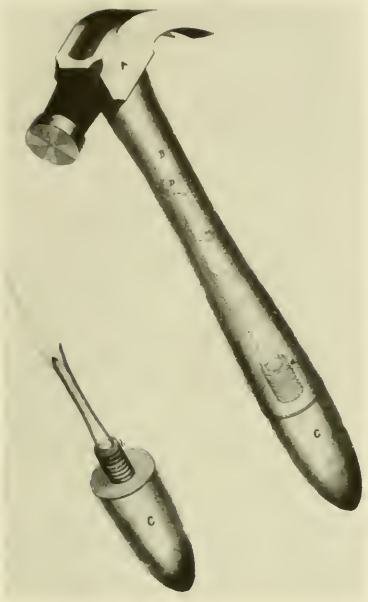


Figure 36.—Nail hammer patented by Christopher G. Dodge. Patent 56191, July 10, 1866.

Students of the decorative arts generally have overlooked the patent drawings—a source in which household furnishings abound. The bedstead (fig. 42) patented by Isaac Eaton of Mount Gilead, Virginia, in 1833, is typical of the 100 or more such patents applied for before 1847; and, although less numerous, patents exist for tableware and utensils that reflect the fashions of the day. Inventors also favored chairs, and considerable insight into popular tastes can be gleaned from their descriptions of them. For instance, Benjamin Hays of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, emphasized in his 1834 specification the simplicity of his easy chair (fig. 43), but quickly added that the back and sides might be "stuffed and turned into any style of plainess or elegance." Although it is typical of patentees to attempt to cover

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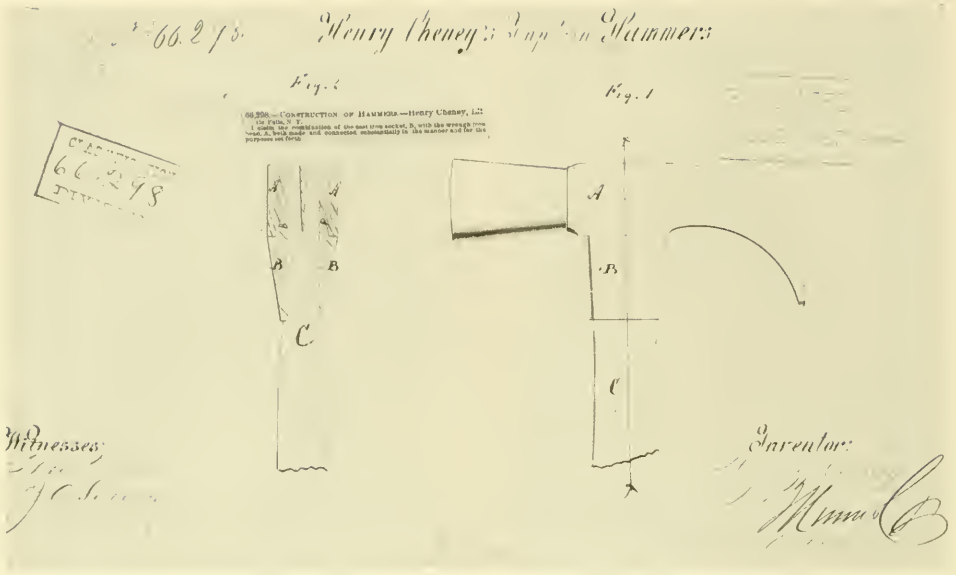

Figure 37.—Henry Cheney's improvement in hammers. Patent 66298, July 2, 1867.

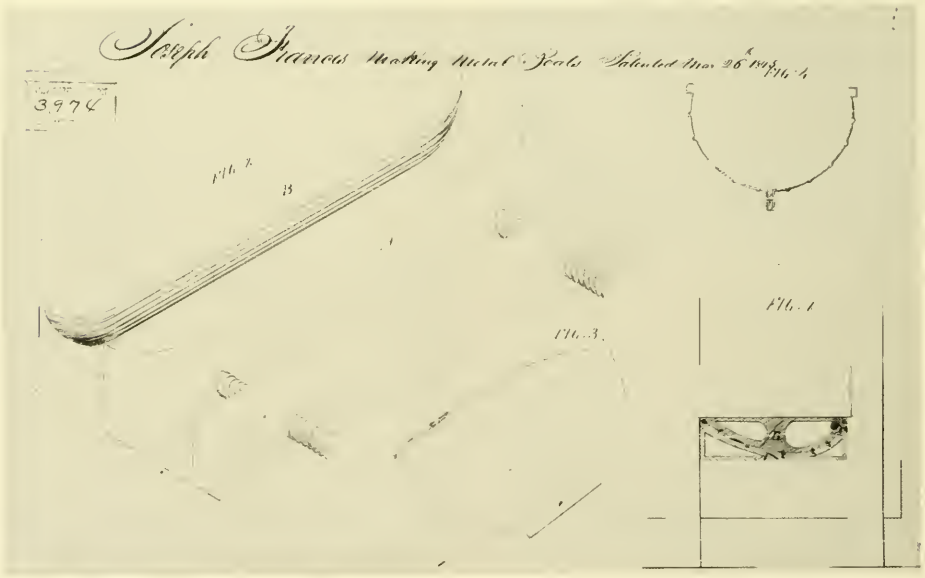

Figure 38.—Making metal boats. Patented by Joseph Francis. Patent 3974, March 26, 1845.

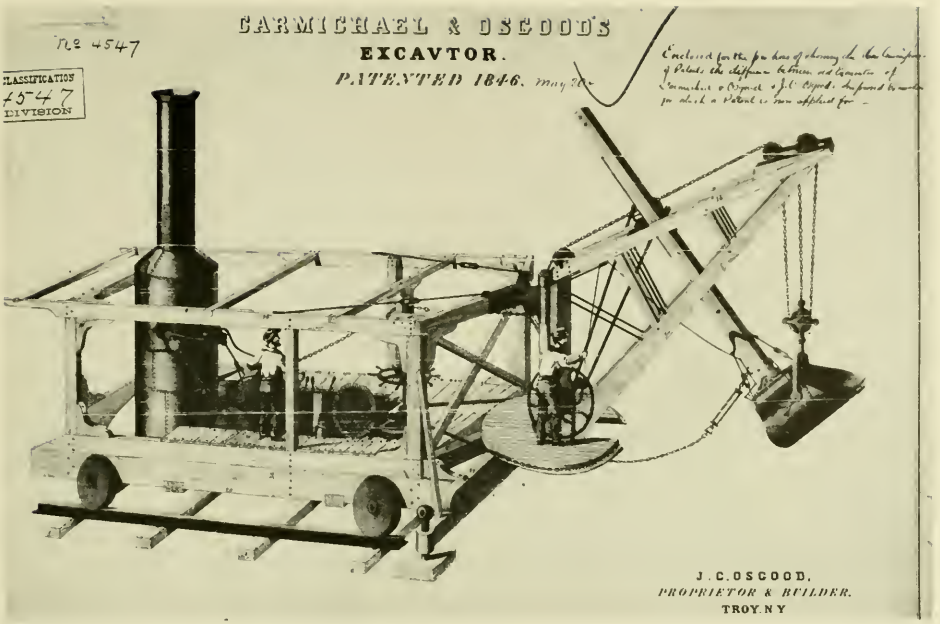

Figure 39.—Excavator invented by Daniel Carmichael and Jason C. Osgood of New York. Patent 4547, May 30, 1846.

every possibility, this very willingness by Hays to achieve a flexible solution is perhaps one of the period's outstanding characteristics.

The patentees of beds and chairs seem a dull lot compared to innovators like Thomas Boynton of Windsor, Vermont, who, in 1832, requested and received a patent for "Elastic Stamp Painting" (fig. 44), an "improvement in the mode of ornamenting the walls and floors of rooms and, various other things." His patent specification provides instructions for multicolored motifs easily applied, everything from "variegated ornaments" to "stripes, flowers, etc. of various colours" to be combined "in any manner your taste may dictate."

If Boynton fails to stimulate interest, perhaps Dr. J. Wright Warren's portable bath tent (fig.45) will. Here was a creation that combined "in one arrangement all the conveniences for taking all the several descriptions of baths, such as warm, cold, vapours, medicated vapour, and shower baths," and it was planned with all "due regard to simplicity and portability." What could be more apt for 1840 than the good Boston doctor's reminder that the tub's exterior curtain should be crimson-colored in order "to add neatness and elegance to utility" and to make it entirely "suitable as an article of household furniture."

Costume is not neglected, nor are costume accessories such as hats, shoes, and underpinnings. In James H. Chappell's geometrical pattern book (fig. 46), "A Map of Spheres and Right Lines," appears a "Coat, Great Coat, and Vest, pantaloons, garters, Cloak, Frock, shirt collars and lappels, and a lady's habit, all of which are formed by right lines and spheres as the printed explanations fully show." Nor, as can be observed in the drawing, does Chappell neglect the militia uniform at a time when such garb was often a social requirement. Buttons, combs, hats, tailor's shears, and umbrellas as well as measuring devices were patented. Some patents, like Hiram Seger's tailor's square, included drawings of costumed figures, and thus are particularly valuable (fig. 47).

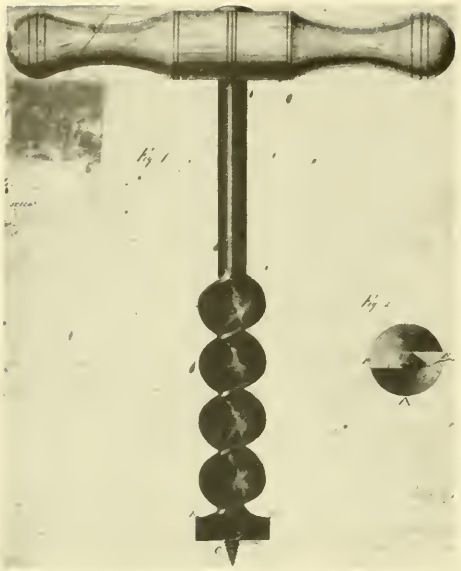

Figure 40.—Double-podded screw auger patented by Ezra L'Hommedieu, July 31, 1809 (restored patent 1114X).

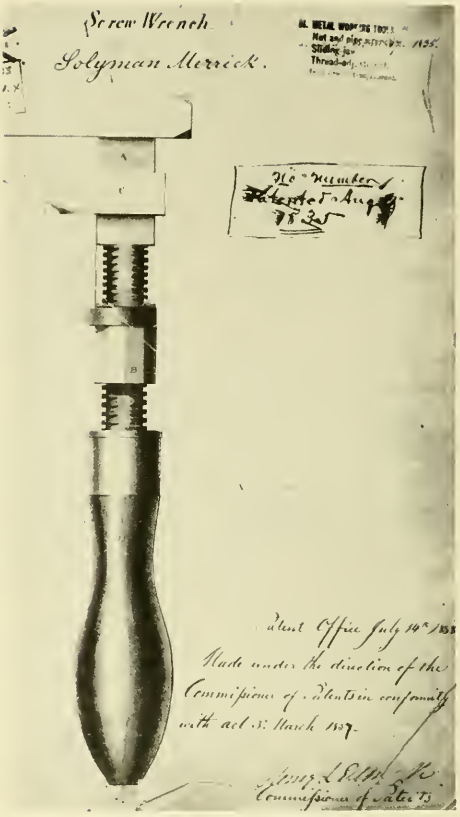

Figure 41.—Screw wrench patented by Solyman Merrick, August 17, 1835 (restored patent 9030X).

Stoves of all sizes, shapes, and forms can be found, and all reflect the extensive use of cast iron and a flexible design aimed at achieving multipurpose results. David Little, in 1826, suggested an 11-plate range (fig. 48) "in which all kinds of boiling, broiling, roasting, baking and steaming are done," and its size was to be flexible "to suit all families or purchasers, Steam Boats and Ships." Similarly, John Harriman, in 1834, submitted a stove design (fig. 49), "both ornamental and convenient," in which, at one and the same time, food could be either boiled, roasted, baked, fried, or broiled. Thus, from beds to stoves, researchers will at least be rewarded by details of form, decoration, original appearance and use.

What, for example, do the above patents and others show of the transition of popular taste, say from the temple to the cottage, from the Greek to the Gothic? As mechanical inventions, do they reflect the romanticism of the day? Is there any indication in them of the views expounded by Downing or Greenough? Do architectural fashions manifest themselves in the architectural designs of machinery patented in the period—lathe beds, steam engines, steamboats, and locomotives? How widespread is the concept of the cast-iron skeleton as articulated by James Bogardus? Is it merely coincidence that in 1849 Alexander Barclay and Charles W. Bontgen of Newark, New Jersey, patented ice skates (fig. 50) made, according to their patent specification, "of one or more pieces of iron (instead of wood as heretofore) of a skeleton form"? These questions are most frequently answered by citing physical survivals that show the given characteristics. The breadth and depth of the patent files ought to add a new dimension to such research.

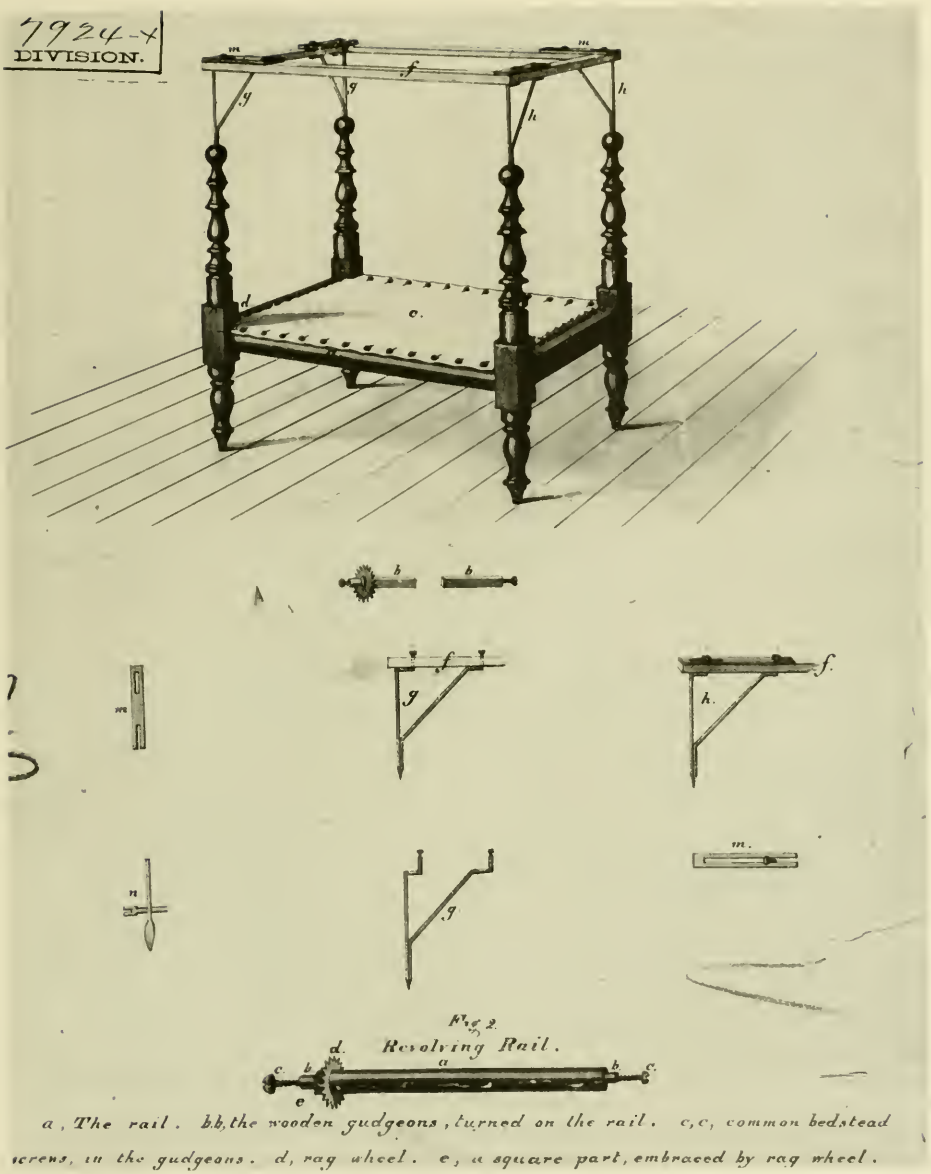

Figure 42.—Bedstead patented by Isaac Eaton, December 31, 1833 (restored patent 7924X).

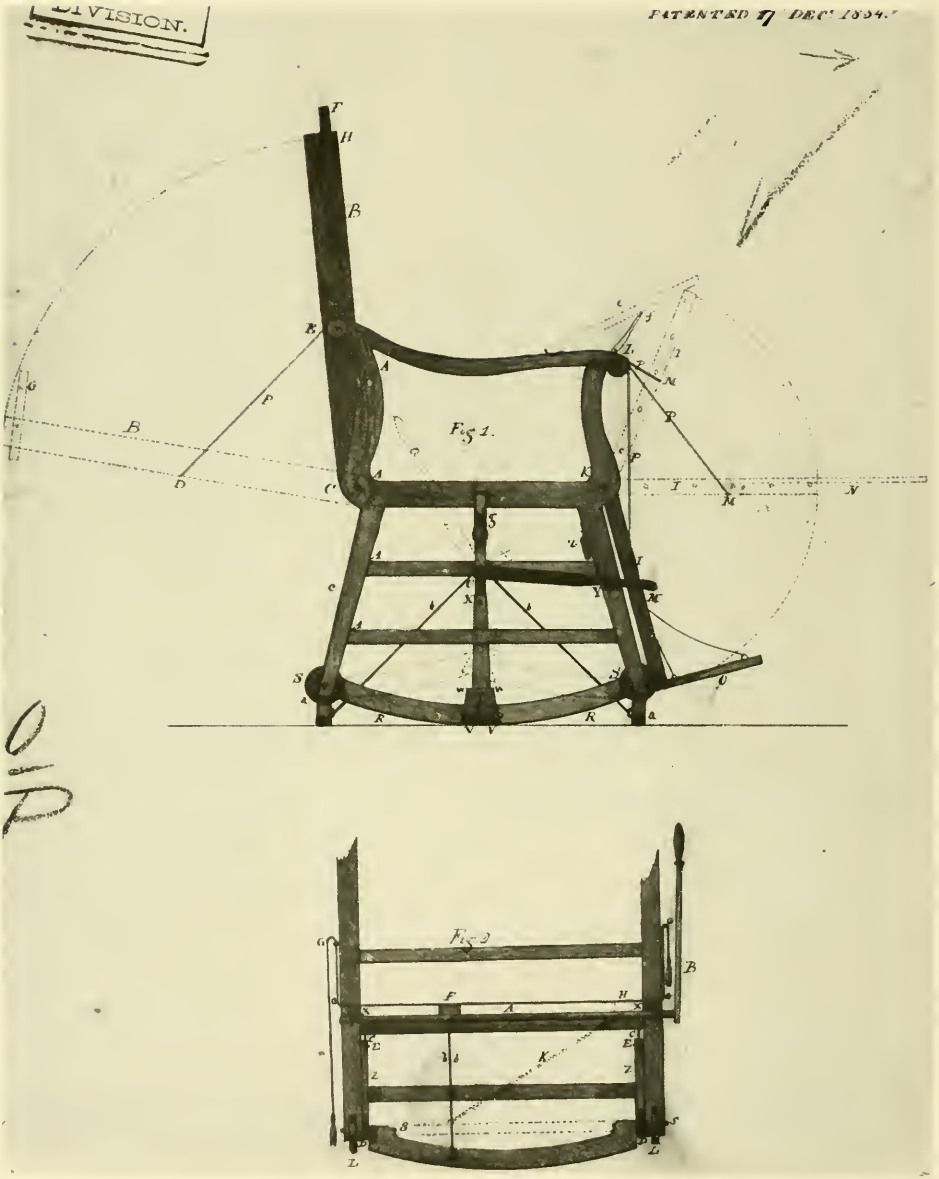

Figure 43.—Easy chair patented by Benjamin F. Hays, December 17, 1834 (restored patent 8537X).

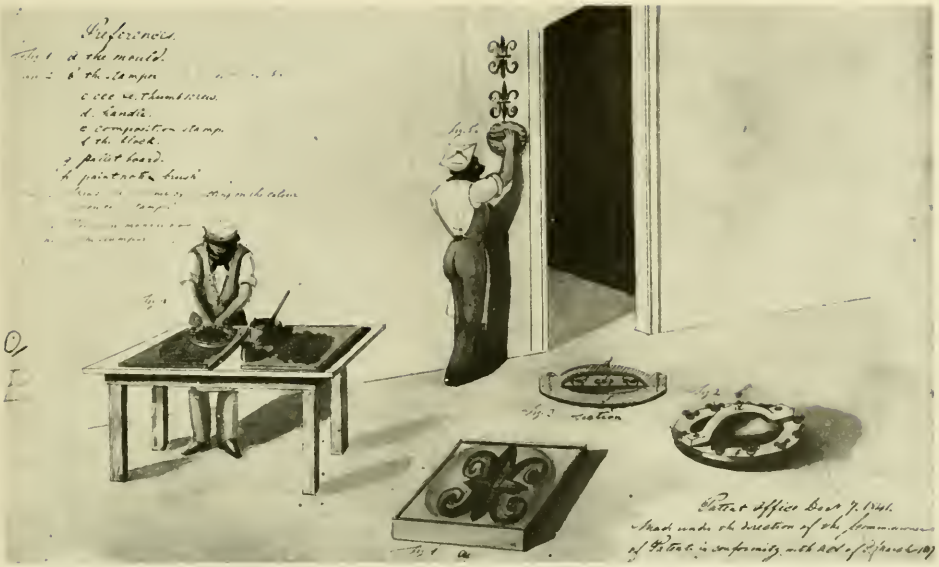

Figure 44.—Elastic stamp painting. Patent granted to Thomas Boynton on July 12, 1832 (restored patent 7164X).

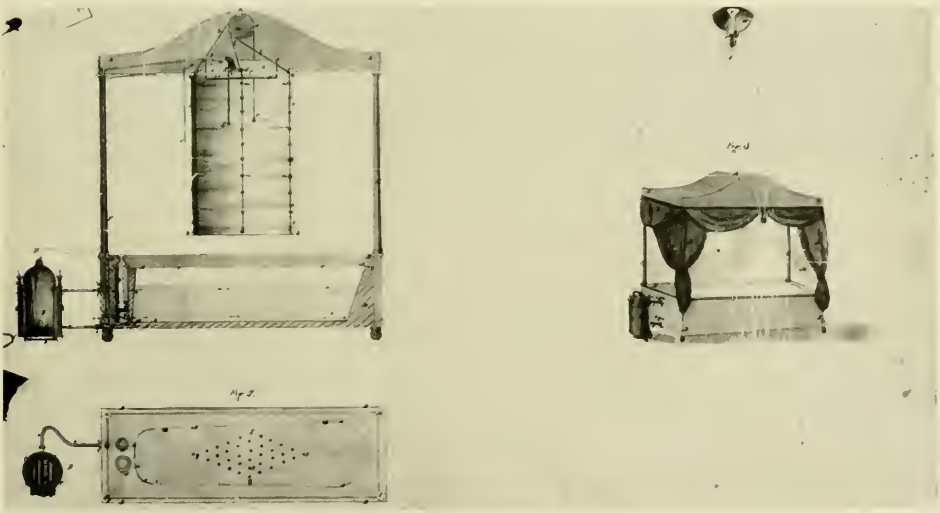

Figure 45.—Portable bath tent patented by Dr. J. Wright Warren. Original patent 1710, July 31, 1840. Reissue no. 103, October 16, 1847.

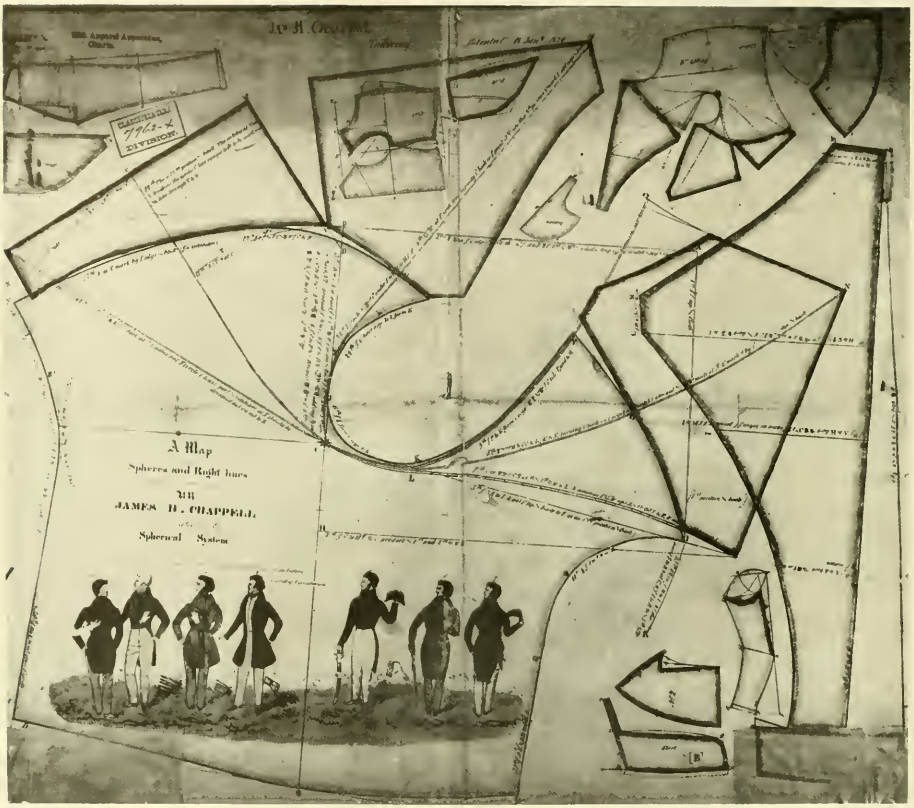

Figure 46.—Page from pattern book by James H. Chappell dealing with his spherical system of tailoring. Patent issued January 18, 1834 (restored patent 7962X).

The historian engaged in restoration and preservation is ill advised to bypass the Patent Office. Early industrial techniques such as charcoal burning (fig. 51) and bark grinding (fig. 52), vehicles of all types from fire engines (fig. 53) to gigs (fig. 54), agricultural implements by the score (fig. 55), and a variety of other tools are represented by watercolor drawings or specifications or both. Thomas W. Pryor's improved bark mill of 1805 is an excellent example of the patent record as an illustrative and descriptive document. The drawing (fig. 52) shows a typical, horse-powered, bark mill complete with the miller and his horse, while the specification outlines the process.

Bark, after being prepared in the usual manner is thrown into a *Horizontal Separating Machine*, which is a cylindrical Revolutionary Wire finer or coarser as may be found most advantageous with Interstices to produce long or short filaments of Bark . . . ; the separated Bark falls into a Chest below the Separating machine, throwing out at the end. The unsmashed lumps or pieces of Bark which may not be sufficiently ground . . . are placed in a Common Bark mill and after being reground is thrown into the Separating machine and goes through the foregoing process.

Figure 47.—Tailor's square invented by Hiram Seger. Patent 2590, April 29, 1842.

The patent specification provides a firsthand account that can often stand alone as a description of an important routine activity such as farming or fishing. With the drawing for David Smith's improved hay rake (fig. 56) is his description of how to use it.

Cut the grain level with a cradle, or with a naked scythe (if the grain is lodged) or otherwise; hitch a horse to the ends of the ropes of the revolving rake Z. Z. Take hold of the handle R and put it on the piece B; drive in between two swathes. When the rake is full, a slight lift with the hand will turn it over, and the back teeth now become the front. Put the handle R on the piece B. as before, fill again as before, and so on through the field. On your return stop opposite your first bunches on account of loading; move the second or third row of bunches to make room for a wagon or slide; take three or four pronged forks, either of wood or iron, or steel, hold the prongs one above the other, and stick the fork into the sides of these bunches. Two hands to pitch together and one to load, can thus put the grain on a wagon in less time than it would take them to bind it.

If the grain is to be stacked, the buts should be kept the same way on both sides of the wagon. In stacking, keep the middle full, and lay the buts nicely round the outside.

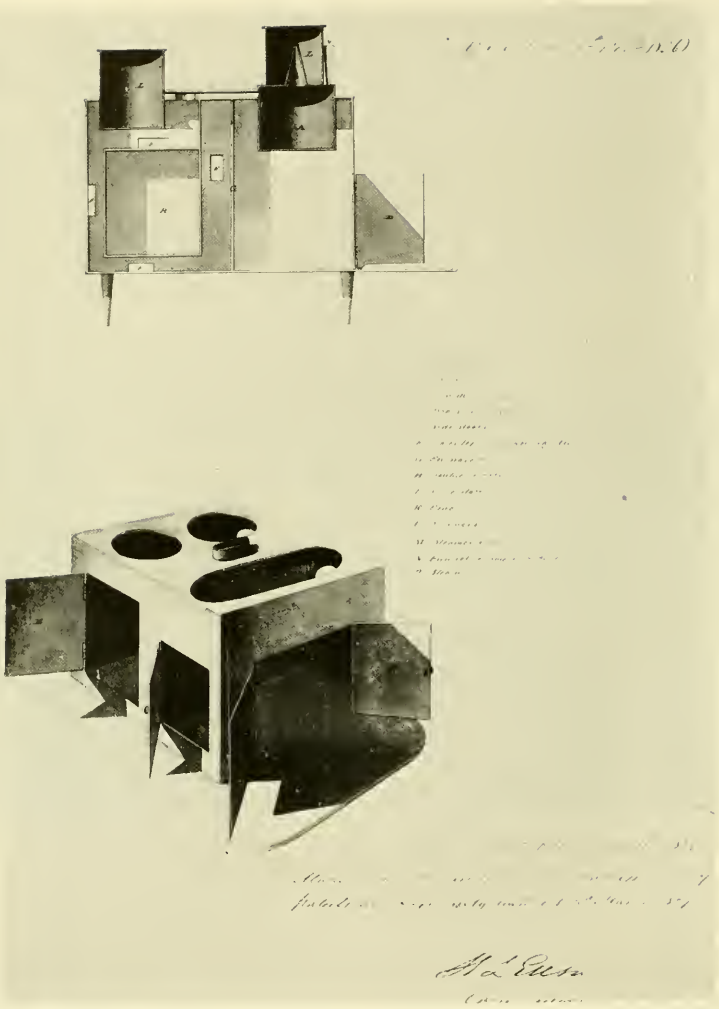

Figure 48.—Cooking stove invented by David Little. Patented February 1, 1826 (restored patent 4327X).

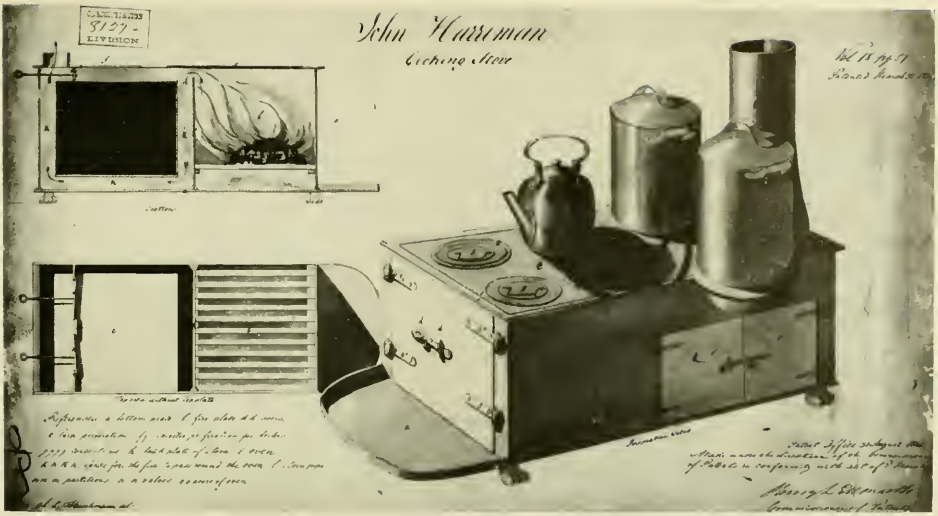

Figure 49.—Cooking stove invented by John Harriman and patented March 31, 1834 (restored patent 8127X).

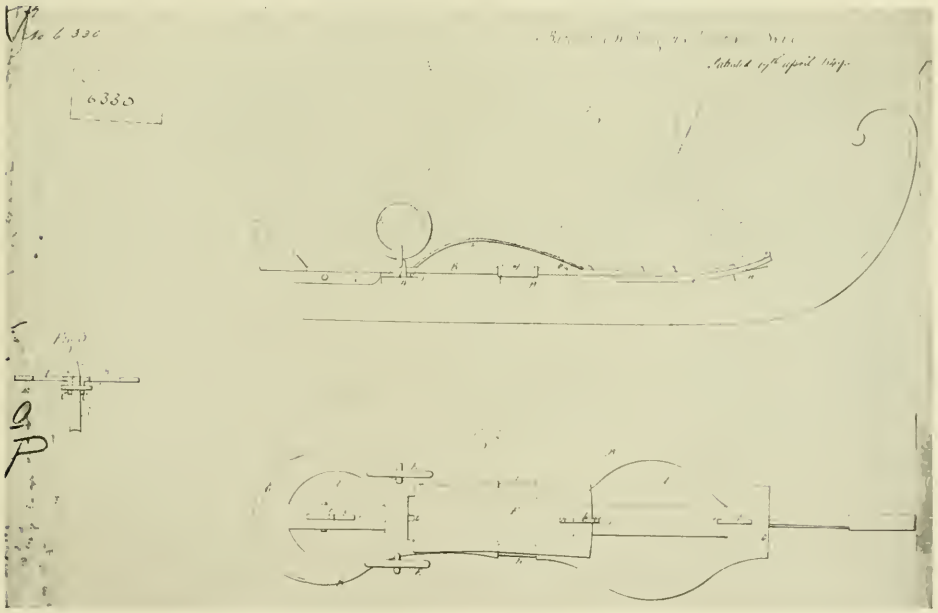

Figure 50.—Improved ice skate invented by A. Barclay and C. W. Bontgen. Patent 6330, April 17, 1849.

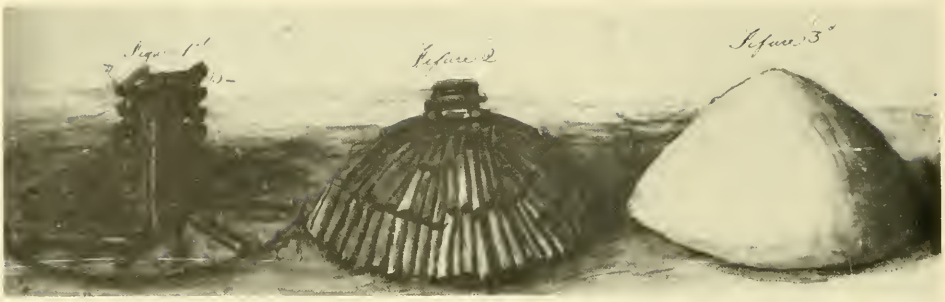

Figure 51.—Mode of making charcoal invented by Michael Carroll. Patent 720, April 28, 1838.

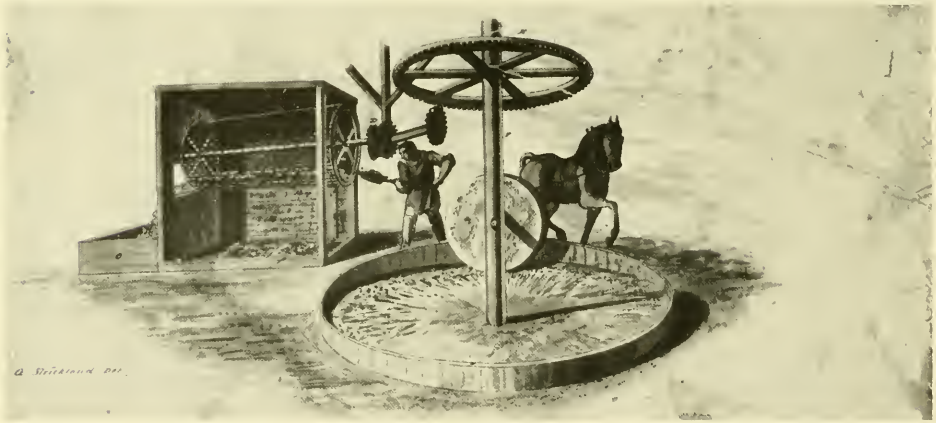

Figure 52.—An improved bark mill patented by Thomas W. Pryor on May 21, 1805 (restored patent 621X).

Three or four days after the stack is settled, one hand on the top of the stack, and one below with a cloth to save the grain should beat off the loose heads with a hoop pole which they can do in a very little time. The stack will save as well as if the grain were bound into sheaves. After the wheat is taken out of the field the rake is run over where the bunches lay.

The grain when cut is left to dry in the swathes one day in fair weather. If too ripe, rake in the mornings and evenings. The grain is handled altogether with forks and not with hands, after it is raked. One acre can be raked in this way in less than 15 minutes (if the swathes are 40 rods or longer) clean and nice.

As to the other rake, fig. 1. Take hold of the handle D and after the horse is hitched to the ropes ZZ, drive between two swathes. When the rake is full, a slight lift of the hand will turn it over on the bow D, and it will slide over the grain.

When the points are past the bunches, the rake is drawn back with the hand, filled again and so on.

By following the above plan, one half of the expense of harvesting is saved, and if the grain is thrashed with horses, one hand can lay it on the floor as fast as three could, if it were bound in sheaves. It is also easier turned with forks, and is thrashed full as fast.

Here, the character of early 19th-century farming becomes exceedingly clear with little explanation needed. Equally clear and suggestive is Benjamin Hale's illustration (fig. 57) of "taking Mackerel and

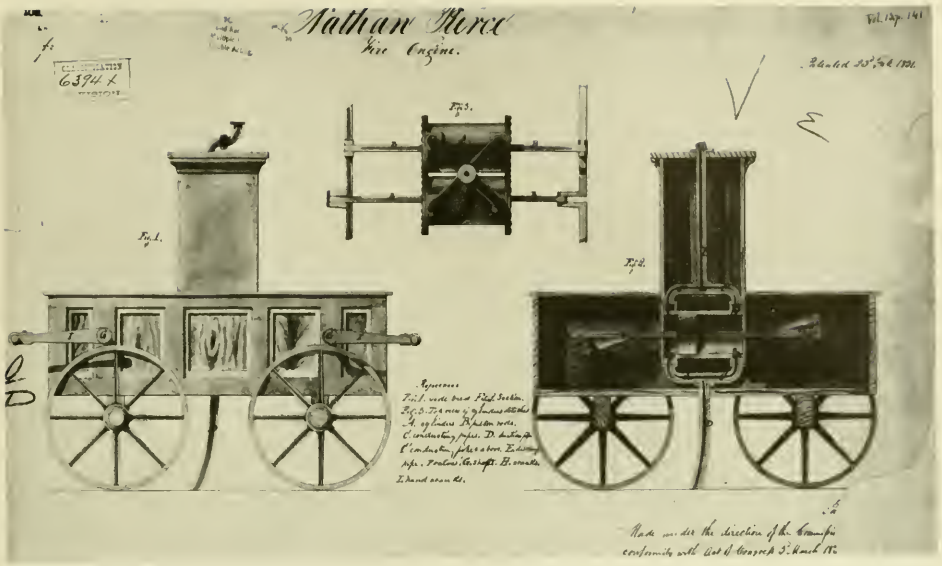

Figure 53.—Fire engine patented by Nathan Pierce, February 23, 1831 (restored patent 6394X).

Figure 54.—Gig designed by Isaac Woodcock. Patent 5514. April 18, 1848.

Figure 55.—Plow invented by Thomas Borden and patented January 13, 1830 (restored patent 5774X).

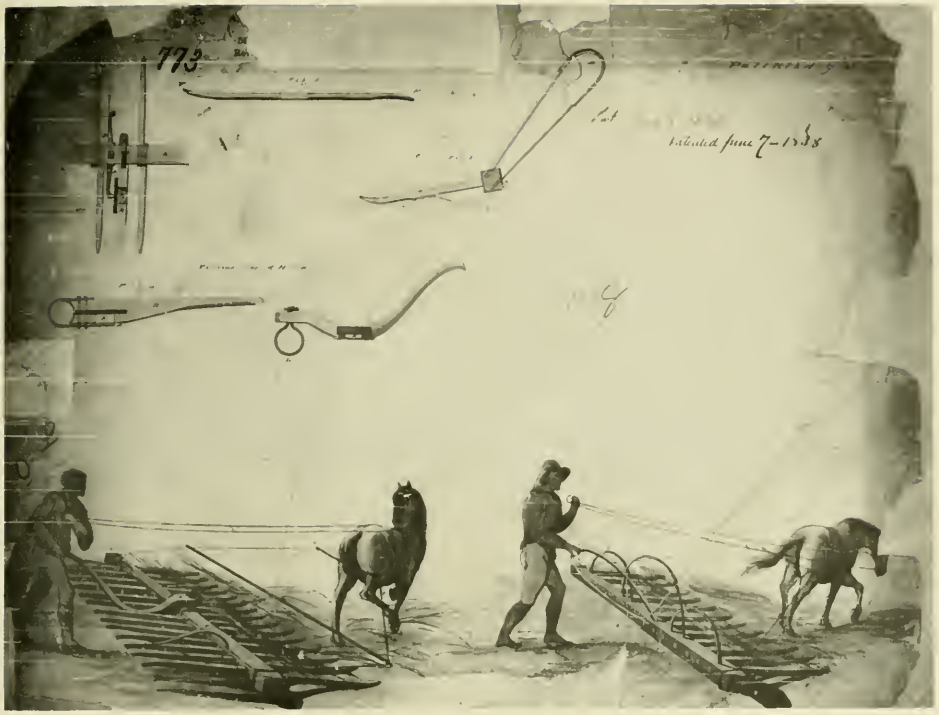

Figure 56.—Hay rake invented by David Smith. Patent 773, June 7, 1838.

other fish at sea, or in deep water" submitted in 1838. But these drawings and literally thousands more like them are virtually unknown. Contemporary illustrations of a society at a given period are, of course, not rare; however, neither folk art nor lithography collections provide as wide a year-by-year, graphic coverage of American activity as the profusion of watercolor drawings rendered by patentees or official delineators in support of patents prior to 1870.

Frequently, it is argued that for the period before 1836 the drawings are reconstructions of those destroyed in the Patent Office fire and, therefore, not valid as source material. This is only partially true, since some drawings are duplicates of the prefire originals; and further, many of those restored are near-contemporary reconstructions, often well researched, accurate, and explicitly visual representations of ideas and attitudes current at the time of application.[18] Still, even if one chooses to disregard the so-called "Name and Date," or "Restored" patents, there are the exceedingly rich files, overflowing with drawings, that date from 1836 to 1870. They are, in reality, American renditions of persons, animals, and things, often done by individuals actively engaged in the operations they depict. They are, at times, superior

[18] For example, James H. Chappell's map of spheres and right lines (fig. 20) is apparently a duplicate of an original drawing; so is Solyman Merrick's wrench (fig. 15). Many drawings, such as James Herman's grooving plane of 1835 (see fig. 24) were redrawn soon after the Act of 1837 that authorized restoration. All historical evidence must be critically examined; the patent drawing is no exception, but to date the social historian has put little of it to the test.

Figure 57.—Fishing net for deep water designed by B. W. Hale. Patent 763. June 4, 1838.

to the overworked reproduction of cuts from Diderot, the *Book of Trades*, the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, or the *Scientific American* that fill our literature and anchor many a museum exhibit.

Perhaps in the future, the drawings and related files will be more widely used to describe forgotten techniques and implements, to suggest attitudes of taste and fashion, to define technical accomplishment, or to document survivals of the past; in other words, they will be used as cultural documents reflective of a very wide range of activity within a given period. To date, they remain largely unused for this purpose. Their accessibility is physically difficult; their content is little appreciated; and their bulk is tremendous with guides few and far between. It is hoped that this paper will call attention to this situation, and further, that, if these voluminous files now preserved in the National Archives are eventually reevaluated, some consideration will be given to indexing them on a cultural basis.[19] But, regardless of what form long-term revision of these records may take, they remain a lively source of social history, one needing to be fully explored.

[19] For example, these records might be indexed according to George P. Murdock and others, *Outline of Cultural Materials* (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1950).

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Contributions from
The Museum of History and Technology:
Paper 49

Benjamin Latrobe and Dolley Madison Decorate the White House, 1809–1811

Margaret Brown Klapthor

FIGURE 1.—DIORAMA OF THE OVAL DRAWING ROOM of the White House, as displayed in the First Ladies Hall of the Museum of History and Technology. The incident depicted is the removal of the White House furnishings by Dolley Madison in August 1814, as the British advance to burn Washington.

Margaret Brown Klapthor

BENJAMIN LATROBE AND DOLLEY MADISON DECORATE THE WHITE HOUSE 1809–1811

In 1809 the Madisons moved into a White House which was beginning to present a dignified outside appearance to the world. With Dolley Madison's able help, Benjamin Latrobe, architect and engineer, began to create an interior decor in keeping with the building's basic architectural elegance. Yet the task, which occupied the years from 1809 to 1811, proved quite inexpensive by today's standards.

The descriptions of the rooms in this article give the reader a glimpse into the Ladies' Drawing Room (the present Red Room) and the Oval Drawing Room (the present Blue Room) of the Madison era. Only part of the White House had been decorated when the British marched on Washington and the Mansion was burned.

THE AUTHOR: *Margaret Brown Klapthor is associate curator of political history in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.*

WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON assumed his duties as President in 1801 most of the public buildings which were being constructed for the new government were in deplorable condition. The Capitol and the White House were only partially finished and work was at a standstill. Perhaps as a result of Jefferson's own personal interest in architecture, one of his first actions was to get Congress to appropriate $50,000 for use "in repairs and alterations in the Capitol and other public buildings as may be necessary for the accommodation of Congress in their future sessions." On the strength of his bill, Jefferson then created the position of Surveyor of Public Buildings and offered the position to Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

Latrobe, a native of England, was at that time living in Philadelphia where he was successfully practicing his profession as an architect and engineer. He was a man of ability and had a wide range of interests

in all phases of the cultural arts. His merits had been recognized almost as soon as he arrived in the United States and, within a few years, he had established himself not only in his governmental work on the state level, but in the many important private enterprises with which he was connected.

When Latrobe was appointed Surveyor of Public Buildings the White House was in much the same condition as it was in 1800 when Abigail Adams complained so feelingly that "there was not ONE apartment" in what she considered a "finished" condition. The walls of the apartments of the eastern section were still unplastered, the grounds were rough and neglected, temporary wooden steps were at all the principal entrances, and the roof leaked badly. None of the outbuildings so necessary for storage had ever been constructed, and the house lacked most of the conveniences then looked upon as essential.

During the last six years of the Jefferson administration, the President and Latrobe worked together to make the house structurally habitable, to supply the missing conveniences, and to improve the exterior appearance of the building. No work seems to have been done on the interior of the house during this period, probably because so much was required on the exterior that neither funds nor time were available. Thus, President James Madison and his charming wife Dolley[1] in 1809 moved into a house (fig. 3) which was at last beginning to present to the world a dignified outside appearance. And it was a house which had been supplied with many of the necessities for comfortable living, such as water closets and a roof which did not leak. But it was a house with an interior not yet developed to the degree promised by its architectural elegance, a condition soon to be corrected.

The election of James Madison to the Presidency must have given Benjamin Latrobe great pleasure. To his brother Christian, in England, he wrote shortly after the election "I have for many years been on an intimate footing with him. Mary [Latrobe's wife] has known his very excellent and amiable wife from a child."[2] Indeed the friendship of Dolley Madison and Mary Hazelhurst Latrobe dated from the days in Philadelphia when Dolley was a young matron and Mary Hazelhurst was a child in the same social circle.

FIGURE 2.—BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE—Surveyor of Public Buildings, administrations of Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. (*Photo courtesy Maryland Historical Society.*)

The newly elected President, even before his inauguration, turned over the entire direction of the work to be done on the interior of the Executive Mansion to his capable wife (fig. 4). In February, he directed Latrobe to take his instructions from Dolley and present his accounts to her. Together Dolley and Latrobe were to assemble a stage setting singularly appropriate to her outstanding performance in the role of First Lady.

The first glimpse given to the public of the results of this successful collaboration came almost three months after Mrs. Madison became First Lady. On May 31, 1809, she gave the first of weekly "drawing rooms" which she held each Wednesday night when she was in residence. No written invitations were issued and none were needed. For social Washington, Wednesday night at the White House became the focal point

[1] The fact that Mrs. Madison spelled her name Dolley is well documented by her personal signature on letters which survive in the Library of Congress and other manuscript collections. The sale catalog of her estate, sold in 1899, is entitled "Important Sale—Estate of Dolley P. Madison." The spelling "Dolly" seems to be a 20th-century simplification.

[2] TALBOT HAMLIN, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 333.

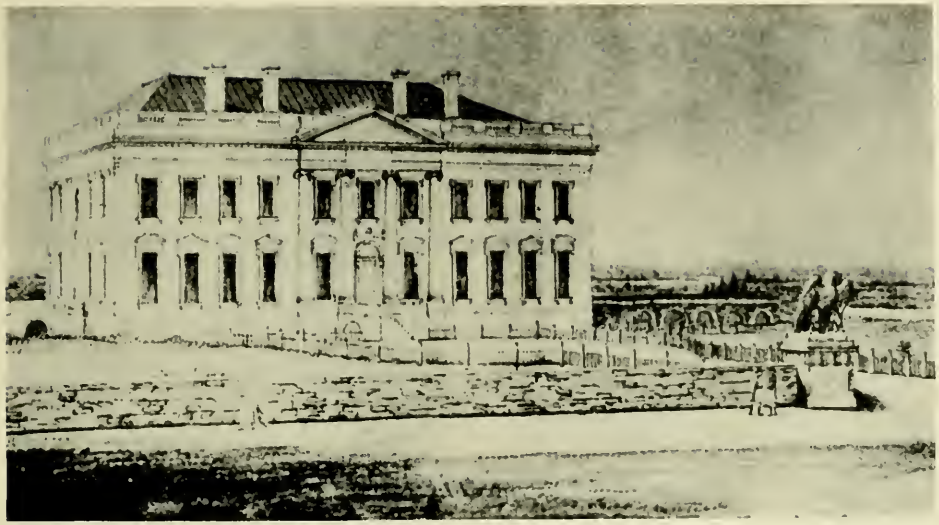

FIGURE 3.—EXTERIOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE, ca. 1810, showing the stone wall, fence, and ornamental gate posts designed by Latrobe during the time he served as Surveyor of Public Buildings in the Jefferson administration. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

around which all of the city's official society revolved.

On that first evening, the Oval Drawing Room was not yet ready to be opened to the public and guests were received in the room, called the "Ladies Drawing Room" or "Mrs. Madison's Parlor," that is today known as the Red Room. Contemporaries have left us graphic descriptions of the room, which was said to be done in the "very latest Sheraton style." Latrobe's architectural talents are suggested in the treatment of the draperies. The curtains in the room were made of sunflower yellow damask with a valance of swags and draperies topping each window. This valance continued all around the top of the room, the stiff festoons looping up to a pole placed near the ceiling line. The fringe with which all the draperies and valances were trimmed caused a mild furor; it was made of long and short drops, silk over bits of wood, and must have enhanced the elegance of the room.

In front of the fireplace, "on a fireboard" beneath the mantle the same yellow damask was arranged in a fluted pattern known as a "rising sun." The furniture of the room was upholstered in bright yellow satin; the high-backed sofas and stiff chairs were elegant with no pretense of comfort. The room's furnishings were completed with a new carpet, a few pier tables and card tables, plus a "piano forte" and a fine guitar ordered expressly by Mrs. Madison.[3] In this setting the First Lady received, often dressed in blending buff or yellow satin, or in a contrasting crimson.[4]

A number of letters have survived that give details of the so-called "domestic arrangements" and attest to close collaboration between the First Lady and Latrobe on every phase of the interior work done at the White House. Most of these letters date from the spring and summer of 1809. They were written to Dolley Madison by Latrobe when he was in Philadelphia or New York on official business acquiring material for the White House.

[3] National Archives, Account of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Furniture of President's House (May 29, 1809).

[4] ETHEL LEWIS, *The White House* (New York, 1937), p. 69.

One such letter, now unfortunately lost, is referred to in a letter from Latrobe to Madison on July 7, 1809, in which he states that he has taken "the liberty to write to Mrs. Madison" since the President had "formerly referred me to her for the domestic arrangements of the house." [5]

The room that Latrobe wished to make his masterpiece was the handsome Oval Room, which James Hoban had designed to be the most elegant of the formal rooms in the White House. It had not been furnished during the Adams or the Jefferson administrations, and up to this time had been used as an anteroom or vestibule. Work on the Oval Room continued all that first summer, as Latrobe proceeded to design not only the architectural features and the decoration, but even the furniture, in order to insure the effect he wished to create. (Fortunately, Latrobe's drawings for the furniture have been found among the Maryland Historical Society's Latrobe papers by Robert Raley, whose article about them appeared in *Antiques Magazine*, June 1959.) The furniture was in the Greek style so admired by Latrobe and follows closely designs which had appeared in Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, published in London in 1807. On the back of one of the drawings, Latrobe wrote: "Within are drawings of the chairs [see figs. 5 and 6]. I hope you will be able to bend your whole force to them immediately. They come a few days later than I could have wished but my time is so occupied that I could not send them sooner. The drawings of the sofas [see fig. 7] will follow in a day or two." The letter is addressed to Mr. Finlay, renowned for making the handsome painted furniture for which Baltimore was then famous.[6]

The National Archives contain a record of the account of Benjamin Latrobe with John and Hugh Finlay of Baltimore.[7] A bill dated September 16, 1809, requests payment as follows:

To 36 Cane Seat Chairs made to a Grecian Model, painted, gilded & varnished, with the United States arms painted on each @ 20	720.
To packing the same	6.
To 2 Sofas to match the same, double fronted, 4 extra large casters to each, @ 80	160.
To 4 Settees as above, double fronted, 4 extra large casters to each, @ 40	160.
To packing Sofas & Settees	16. 50
To transporting the same by land from Baltimore to Washington in a waggon & cart	22.
To freight of the Chairs by water [remainder of entry obliterated by tear in manuscript; as is charge for this service]	[18.]
To insurance of the same	8. 50
	1111.

FIGURE 4.—DOLLEY PAYNE TODD MADISON (Mrs. James Madison) by Ezra Ames. (*Photo courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York City.*)

[5] No copy of the missing letter is in the Maryland Historical Society's large collection of Latrobe papers (where the one just quoted is located), but a clue to its continuing existence is to be found in the catalog of a sale of Madison documents, held in Philadelphia by Stan V. Henkels, Jr., in 1933. Item 34 is an autograph letter signed by Latrobe and addressed to Mrs. Madison, described as "His proposals to arrange the various rooms of the White House to suit the new occupants. Also detailed accounts of expenditures for china, paperhanging, changes, etc." The priced sale catalog notes that the letter was sold for $25 to someone who used the name "Tom" as his identification.

[6] Benjamin Henry Latrobe Collection of Papers and Drawings (MSS, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore). Hereinafter cited as Latrobe papers.

[7] National Archives, record group 217, General Accounting Office, Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, account 28.634, voucher 2.

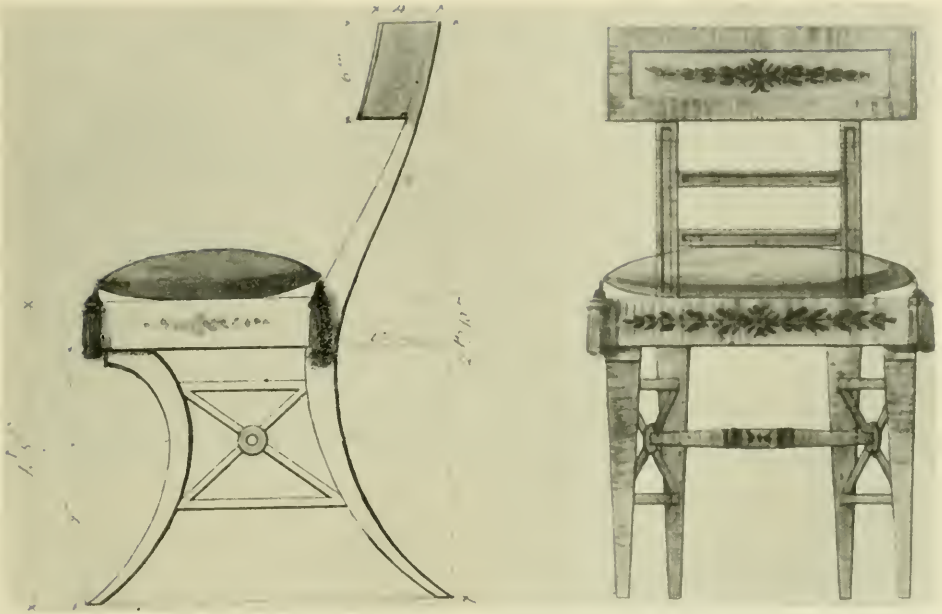

FIGURE 5.—CHAIR DESIGNED BY BENJAMIN LATROBE for the Oval Drawing Room of the White House. (*Photo courtesy Maryland Historical Society.*)

The Finlays advised Latrobe in a letter dated September 20, 1809, that they were sending the sofas and settees by the bearer, John Richardson. At the same time Latrobe was notified that "there had been shipped in good order and well conditioned by John and Hugh Finlay in and upon the good sloop called the *Alice Branon* whereof Bede Clements is master, now in the harbour of Baltimore and bound for Georgetown three dozen chairs." [8]

The success of the appearance of this furniture is attested in several contemporary descriptions of the room, among which is the notation in the diary of William Preston that "the furniture of the room with the brilliant mirrors was very magnificent." [9] An oblique tribute, from the design standpoint, is found in a letter from Latrobe to Finlay dated April

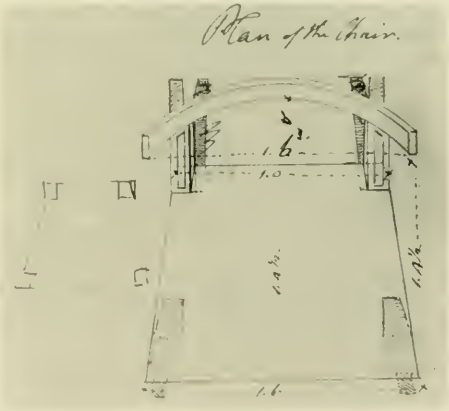

FIGURE 6.—DETAIL OF CHAIR DESIGNED BY LATROBE. (*Photo courtesy Maryland Historical Society.*)

[8] Ibid.

[9] ALLEN C. CLARK, *Life and Letters of Dolley Madison* (Washington, 1914), p. 140.

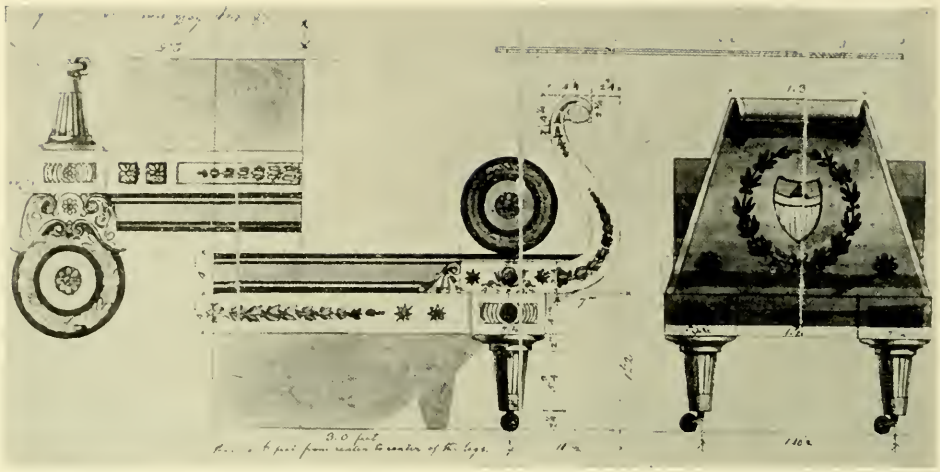

FIGURE 7.—SOFA AND SETTEE DESIGNED BY LATROBE for the Oval Drawing Room.
(*Photo courtesy Maryland Historical Society.*)

26, 1810, just four months after the room was opened to the public, in which he says that "three chairs were broken by a man weighing 3 cwt. leaning back in them,"[10] presumably one at a time.

We know that the walls of the room were painted, because Latrobe's letter book for June 6, 1809, mentions that the "President's Drawing Room was painted by Mr. Bridgeport."[11] The same Mr. Bridgeport, a craftsman from Philadelphia, had decorated the ceiling of the new chamber for the House of Representatives.

The curtains for the room had been a cause for concern. On March 22, 1809, Benjamin Latrobe wrote to Dolley Madison: "There is no Silk Damask to be had either in New York or Philadelphia & I am therefore forced to give you crimson velvet curtains of which I can get plenty and which to my astonishment will not be dearer than Damask."[12] On April 12, Mrs. Latrobe advised Dolley that "Mr. Rea has been fortunate in procuring a sufficient quantity of velvet for the Drawing room curtains, sophas, chairs & etc. and they will certainly be very elegant."[13] Latrobe, when he saw the velvet obtained by Rea, wrote Dolley Madison on April 21: "The curtains! Oh the terrible velvet curtains! Their effect will ruin me entirely so brilliant will they be."[14] And on June 6, Latrobe wrote to Captain John Meany in Philadelphia:

> It is true that I have been very much at a loss for materials for curtains for the President's Drawing Room. The quantity wanted is, however, so unusually large that I have been obliged to have recourse to plain velvet. There are five windows—6 yards high. Five breadth in each is 30 yards and five windows therefore require 150 yards exclusive of draperies, chairs, and sofas—Your six pieces contain only 108 yards."[15]

Latrobe's specification of five windows in the room is evidence that the two alcoves on the inside of the Oval Room were to be treated as windows. Four of the sets of curtains and the four window seats, or settees, were placed in the two windows overlooking the south terrace and in the two alcoves on the north wall. The fifth set of curtains was for the double door, which opened onto the south portico.

[10] Latrobe papers, letter no. 149.
[11] Latrobe papers, letter no. 135.
[12] MS, in New-York Historical Society.
[13] MS, in Virginia Historical Society.
[14] MS, in New York Public Library.
[15] Latrobe papers, letter no. 138.

The material having been found by John Rea of Philadelphia, Latrobe had him make it up. His bill records the following services under the date of October 1, 1809:[16]

To making, lining, and trimming 5 Drawing Room curtains & draperies at $40 Each			$200. 00
To 2 Sophas		8	16. 00
To making & stuffing 36 Chairs		2	72. 00
" " "	5 Settees	4	20. 00
" " "	12 Bolsters	2	24. 00
" " "	57 muslin cases including the muslin	80 / 100	45. 60

It has been thought that the crimson velvet curtains were made by Mrs. Sweeney, a fashionable lady who was the proprietress of the most elegant upholstery shop in Washington, but the account with Rea indicates clearly that the curtains he made and the upholstery done by him were for the Oval Drawing Room. Moreover, there is no account with Mrs. Sweeney that can be identified with this room, although she was doubtless doing work at the Executive Mansion at this time, as she was the source of gossip concerning Latrobe's extravagances and Mrs. Madison's disapproval of his absence from Washington. It is reported that when Latrobe heard the gossip, in several anonymous letters, he wrote immediately to Mrs. Madison concerning it. Mrs. Madison's reply to Latrobe was reassuring on every point. She called the gossip "a variety of falsehoods framed but to play on his sensibilities" and assured him that among other things "My affection for Mrs. Latrobe would in itself prevent my doing injustice to her husband," and added that she supposed Mrs. Sweeney was offended at being left but little to do in the house.[17] Perhaps Mrs. Sweeney's chief grievance had been the fact that she was not employed to do the curtains for a drawing room which could hardly fail to be much discussed in Washington.

By fall the room began to assume its final appearance. Unfortunately, the glass for the great overmantel mirror, ordered from Jacob Mark in New York, was broken in transit. It could not be replaced, so two smaller mirrors had to be substituted in the frame (see fig. 8).

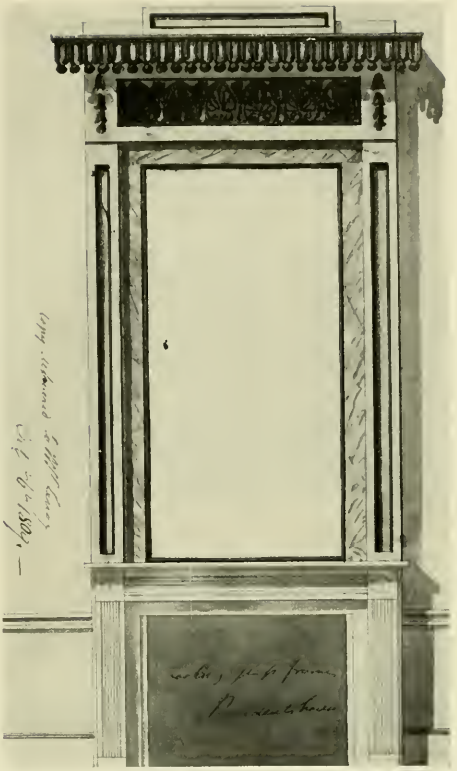

FIGURE 8.—LOOKING-GLASS FRAME designed by Benjamin Latrobe for the Oval Drawing Room. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

In November Latrobe was making inquiry of Bradford and Inskeep of Philadelphia for 12 patent lamps with spiral burners and double lights of a handsome pattern for the President's drawing room. He specified:

> I would prefer handsome bronze to brass and I think either to cut glass unless the latter can be had of a very handsome pattern at the above price. Lamps ornamented with drops and festoons of cut glass would soon be demolished by clumsy and careless servants of this part of the world and therefore I should wish that whatever is sent should be of a kind to bear handling.[18]

[16] National Archives, record group 217, General Accounting Office, Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, account 29,494, voucher 11.

[17] HAMLIN, op. cit. (footnote 2), pp. 328–329.

[18] Latrobe papers, letter of November 21, no. 352.

FIGURE 9.—ST. JOHN'S CHURCH AS SKETCHED BY BENJAMIN LATROBE in 1816 showing in the background the ruins of the White House. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

On December 23, Latrobe wrote that the lamps received "give great satisfaction to Mr. and Mrs. Madison and permit me to add at a proper distance to myself although I cannot say that I admire the mixture of Egyptian, Grecian, and Birmingham taste which characterizes them." [19] Here, he must refer to those for the new drawing room, as he adds that one of the two branch lamps "leaks so exceedingly as to have spoiled a crimson velvet cushion of one of the sofas."

Now all that was needed to complete the room was the floor covering. That, too, was provided by John Rea, whose bill to Latrobe under date of December 27, 1810, records the following: [20]

To making up 169 yds of Brussels carpt. $\frac{20}{100}$	33. 80
To 169 yds of carpt. Brussels 2 $\frac{75}{100}$	464. 75
To 30 yds of Border 2 $\frac{75}{100}$	82. 50
To 1 Large Harth ruge to match	24. 00

The room was furnished in time for the President's reception on New Year's Day, 1810. The final effect was apparently worth the time and money lavished on it, for contemporary accounts speak of the elegance and beauty of the room. With completion of the Oval Room, the collaboration of Dolley Madison and Benjamin Latrobe in furnishing the White House drew to a close. They never had the funds to decorate the East Room; it is left to our imagination to visualize this great ballroom done in the classical style. Other interior work in the house during the Madison administration had included converting the office, formerly used by the private secretary, into a room to be used for Cabinet meetings. Latrobe also closed off the west windows in the library, converting it into a large dining room, which it remains to this day. It was in the dining room that Latrobe placed the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington, one of the few things saved from the White House when it was burned.

The cost of the refurnishing project undertaken by

[19] Latrobe papers, letter no. 389.

[20] National Archives, record group 217, General Accounting Office, Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, account 29,494, voucher 11.

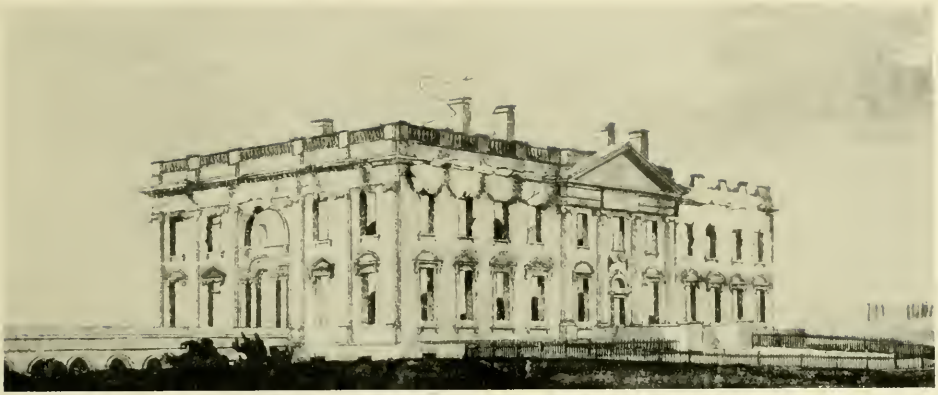

FIGURE 10.—BURNED-OUT SHELL OF THE WHITE HOUSE, sketched in 1814 by Strickland. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

Dolley and Latrobe was not exorbitant. The Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts in the National Archives give as $12,669.31 the amount of the expenditures from April 2, 1809, to January 31, 1811, for looking glasses, silver, china, and crockeryware, house and table linens, "piano forte" and guitar, books for the Presidential library, cabinet and upholstery work, iron mongering, and kitchen furniture. This includes Latrobe's commission at 2 percent.[21]

In 1811, when war with England seemed imminent, Congress failed to appropriate any funds with which to continue construction of the Capitol or work on the President's house. Thus, Latrobe's position as Surveyor of Public Buildings in Washington came to an end.

A graphic account of the interior of the house is recorded in the diary of a young man from Massachusetts, Elbridge Gerry, Jr. While visiting his father, then Vice President, during the summer of 1813, the young Gerry was at the White House on July 9 and 10. He has left us a very complete description of the work done by Benjamin Latrobe and the First Lady:

> The President's house is a perfect palace. You enter the front door, and are at once in a large hall, which is an entry, etc. Pillars of immense size are dispersed thro' this, and it is handsomely furnished etc, and has large lamps for the whole length. On the side opposite to the entrance are doors opening to four rooms. The corner is the dining room and is very spacious, and twice the height of modern parlours and 3 times as large. This is furnished in the most elegant manner and the furniture is so large, that Mrs. Cutts says, the side board would cover the whole side of a large parlour. At the head of the room, General Washington is represented as large as life. This room opens by a single door into Mrs. Madison's sitting-room which is half as large. This furnished equally as well and has more elegant and delicate furniture. Her portrait is here seen. This room in the same way, enters into the drawing room, which is an immense and magnificent room, in an oval form, and which form is preserved in those above and even to the cellar. A door opens at each end, one into the hall and opposite, one into the terrace, from whence you have an elegant view of all the rivers, etc. The windows are nearly the height of the room and have superb red silk velvet curtains which cost $4 a yard. The chairs are wood painted with worked bottoms and each has a red velvet large cushion. They are arranged on the side and are divided into four divisions by sofas. These three rooms are all open on levee nights. Next to the drawing room is the President's sitting-room which has no communication with the former and opens to the hall. This corresponds to Mrs. Madison's parlour, and is handsomely furnished. This opens to his cabinet which I did not see. The cabinet is divided by a temporary petition from the grand council chamber which runs the whole breadth of the house and is more than twice the breadth of common halls. This room is unfinished. Opposite to the dining room is one of the same size for the private secretary and between that and the door, one smaller for the porter who is always at the door.

[21] Ibid., account 24.181, voucher 1.

> Lengthways of the house, and thro' the hall is a walk which extends on a terrace on each end for some way. A staircase arched to admit of this walk ascends at one end and this is the grand staircase. It is in the form of a U and has stairs on each side meeting in the centre. Thro' the second story is a hall or entry and this opens into all the rooms, which are more numerous and smaller than the lower rooms. The President's communicated with others and this is all the information I can give of the inside of the house.[22]

In August of the year following young Elbridge Gerry's visit came the heartbreak of having all this work literally go up in smoke. As Dolley tells it in a letter to Mrs. Latrobe, "Two hours before the enemy entered the city, I left the house where Mr. Latrobe's elegant taste had been so justly admired and where you and I had so often wandered together; and on that very day I sent out the silver (nearly all) and velvet curtains and General Washington's pictures, the Cabinet papers a few books and the small clock and left everything else." [23]

Figure 9 shows the devastated mansion. The house was gutted, and of the elegant drawing room created by Dolley Madison and Benjamin Latrobe only the crimson velvet curtains were saved. However, in the view of the White House in figure 10 we can see still standing outside the ruins the fence designed by Latrobe.

The Diorama

On the basis of this research on the Oval Drawing Room, a diorama of the room has been created and is displayed in the First Ladies' Hall of the Museum of History and Technology. Some of the details of the diorama were decided on the basis of the evidence at hand. For example, the colors used on the furniture and on the mirror frame are those found on the watercolor drawings by Latrobe. These dictated the use of the other colors seen in the room. We can only wonder how much the red color seen in the drawing of the sofa and chairs may have faded in view of Mr. Latrobe's comment on "the terrible velvet curtains! Their effect will ruin me entirely so brilliant will they be." The Latrobe letter book states that the President's Drawing Room was painted by Mr. Bridgeport of Philadelphia, but leaves no clue to the color he used or what portions of the room were painted. None of the contemporary descriptions of the room mentions the way it was painted; one must assume that to those who saw it, the paint seemed completely in harmony with the furnishings, and that such painting probably consisted of decorative touches rather than an overall wall treatment.

For the floor covering described in the Archives Records as "169 yards of Brussels carpet and 30 yards of border—plus a large hearth rug to match," investigation revealed that Brussels carpeting in 1809 would have been handwoven on a draw loom. An early description says that Brussels was distinguished from ingrain carpeting by having "a raised pile with figures and colors produced from the warp." The design for the carpet was chosen from those illustrated in George Smith's *Collection of Ornamental Design after the Manner of the Antique*, published in London in 1812. It has an anthemion motif echoing that on the Latrobe furniture and gave the room an ensemble type of decor—the kind of setting for which Benjamin Latrobe seemed to be striving and which he apparently achieved.

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[22] *The Diary of Elbridge Gerry, Jr.* (New York, 1927), pp. 180–181.

[23] HAMLIN, op. cit. (footnote 2), p. 304.

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Paper 50

Red Cross Ambulance of 1898
In the Museum of History and Technology

Herbert R. Collins

CUBA 170
PUERTO RICO 173
LONG ISLAND CITY 173
GEORGIA 174

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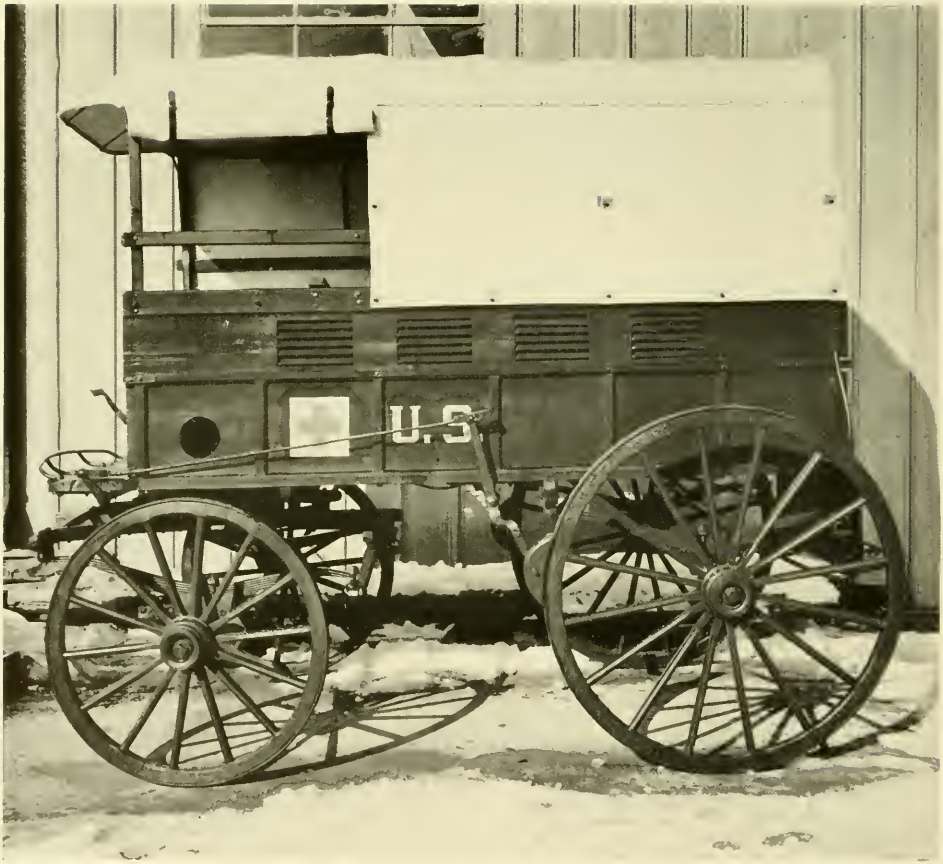

Figure 1.—The ambulance as restored for exhibition in the Museum of History and Technology. (Smithsonian photo 50890.)

Herbert R. Collins

RED CROSS AMBULANCE OF 1898

IN THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

Ambulances marked with a red cross were furnished by the German Army Quartermaster Corps as early as 1870, in the Franco-Prussian War. This paper tells of the first concerted effort of a civilian corps to provide ambulances at any battle-front. The enterprise is significant, for while the six ambulances sent by the American Red Cross to Cuba in 1898 did not serve their intended purpose, the five sent to Puerto Rico and to Army installations within the United States, did prove worthwhile and effective.

Among the latter, one sent to Camp Thomas, Georgia, carried both Red Cross supplies and sick soldiers. It is most fitting that this particular ambulance, now restored for display in the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology, has been placed on exhibit where millions of Americans can view with pride the achievements of such a notable group of citizens.

THE AUTHOR: *Herbert R. Collins is assistant curator of political history in the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of History and Technology.*

A FEATURED OBJECT in the new Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution is a completely restored Red Cross ambulance of the period of the Spanish-American War. One of eleven ambulances procured by the American Red Cross for use in this conflict, it was acquired several years ago by the American Red Cross and is now on loan to the museum.

This ambulance, only known survivor of the eleven, had been sent to Camp Thomas, Georgia, where it served to convey sick soldiers and personnel. Following the war, it was shipped to Miss Clara Barton in Glen Echo, Maryland, and was later acquired by a local vegetable peddler. Over the years, the ambulance received several coats of paint and became badly weather-beaten, but its essential elements re-

Figure 2.—Wagon bed of the ambulance being restored for exhibition by Charles H. Rowell. (Smithsonian photo 50890C.)

mained intact and, even in 1962, pieces of the original canvas still clung to the hood. These pieces, discovered during the restoration, were copied in replacing this part of the ambulance.

The original manufacturer's plate bearing the name Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Co., South Bend, Indiana, as well as other identifying Studebaker marks, remain on the ambulance. Intended to be drawn by a pair of oxen or mules, it is similar in design and construction to the delivery wagons made by Studebaker in 1898, and in some cases the latter were supplied when ambulances were not available. The ambulance is 8½ feet high overall, 7 feet wide including the wheels, and 11 feet long. The floor of the ambulance is 38 inches from the ground, and the height of the sides, excluding the canvas and hoops, is 27 inches. The canvas is supported by seven hoops which are connected with crossbars. The tailgate is 13¾ inches high, and the back step is 36 inches long and 9 inches wide. The diameter of the back wheels is 49 inches and of the front wheels 37¾ inches. The front wheels appear to have been cut down for greater maneuverability. The hubs are 7 inches in diameter. A foot lever at the driver's right operates the rear-wheel brakes. A water cask is under the driver's seat, the spigot projecting slightly through the side of the body. The body rests on platform springs which provide greater comfort than ordinary wagon springs. The various portions of the wagon are made of different woods, depending on

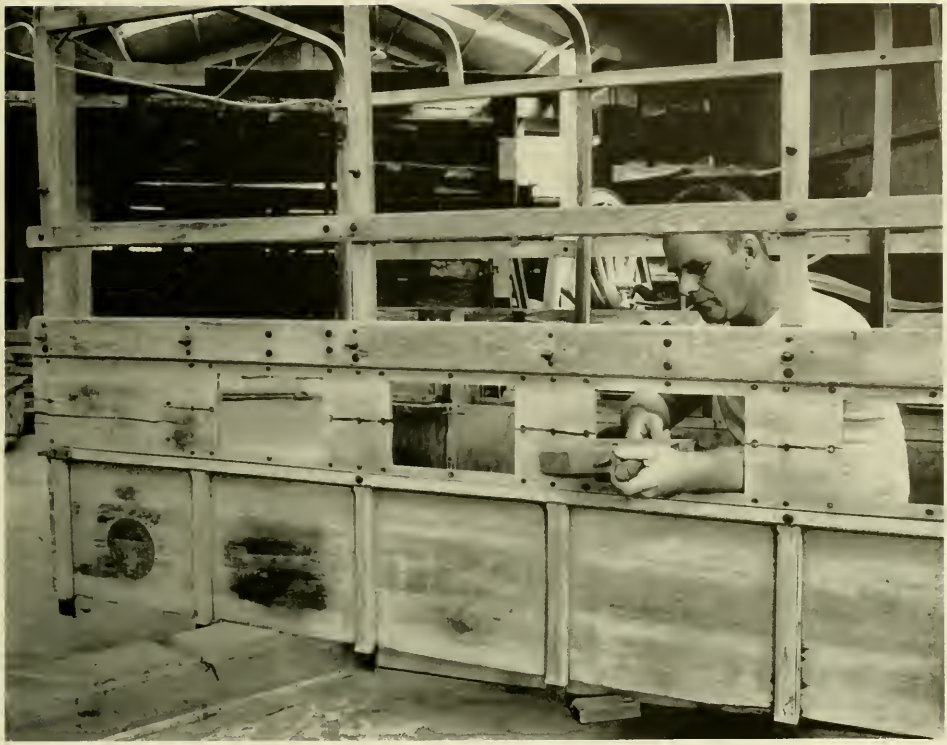

Figure 3.—Restoring body of red cross ambulance during final restoration. (Smithsonian photo 50890 B.)

their function: white oak for the sills, crossbars, studs, rails and floorboards; ash for the back, curtain rails, bows, and cleats; yellow poplar for the side panels; and hickory for the woodwork of the running gear.

This type of ambulance was equipped with four stretchers, two at the top and two at the bottom. The bottom two were hinged so that they could be made into seats for carrying personnel. The upper two were not hinged, but were suspended from the top and were attached to the side when not in use. By the time the U.S. National Museum acquired the ambulance, only one of the original stretchers had survived, and the other three had to be copied for replacement.

In appearance, this type of ambulance differs only slightly from the regular Army Red Cross ambulance furnished by the Quartermaster Corps, a principal difference being that of color. Analysis of the original paint reveals it to have been Prussian blue and chrome yellow, rather than the olive drab used on the Army Red Cross ambulances. Specification for the Army ambulances may be found in great detail in the National Archives, but because this type was purchased by a civilian organization, the exact specifications have not been preserved. Eleven ambulances, completely equipped, were purchased in 1898 by the American Red Cross and, of these, six were shipped to Cuba, two to Puerto Rico, one to Camp Thomas, Georgia, and two to the Long Island

City Relief Station. The story of the eleven, how they were used and misused, is a fascinating one in which the personality of the founder of the Red Cross, Miss Clara Barton, is revealed.

Cuba

The summer of 1897 had brought reports of great suffering among the unfortunate people in Cuba, who were then in armed revolt against the Spanish, and by the close of the year President William McKinley had issued an appeal to the people of the United States to contribute money or materials in an effort to relieve them. This assistance program was carried out by General Fitzhugh Lee, U.S. consul general in Cuba, but despite all the successes achieved the program fell short of being adequate.

With the approach of 1898, Miss Clarissa Harlow Barton (Clara Barton, as she was popularly known) decided to offer the services of the American Red Cross. Although Miss Barton early in 1897 had become interested in the Cuban revolt, she had avoided doing anything until the end of that year, largely to avoid provoking international complications which might lead to war between the United States and Spain. At the end of 1897, however, she was moved to secure permission from the Spanish military authorities to perform Red Cross work in Cuba.

Miss Barton met with the President and the Secretary of State at the Executive Mansion, and at this conference it was decided to form in New York a committee whose primary mission would be to solicit from the general public money and material to be shipped to Cuba in an effort to relieve the suffering that was mounting daily. The U.S. Government was reluctant at first to accept the services of the Red Cross. It was not until a month after the declaration of war against Spain on April 25, 1898, that the U.S. Government officially accepted the proffered aid of the American National Red Cross.

The Committee, having been called in the name of the President, was originally established as the "President's Committee for Cuban Relief," but later became known as the "Central Cuban Relief Committee." Upon the recommendation of Miss Barton, the Committee selected as its chairman Stephen E. Barton, nephew of Miss Barton, who had served for some time as second vice president of the American Red Cross. Others selected for the Committee were Charles Schieren, treasurer, and Louis Klopsch, as a third member. Such notable individuals as Chauncey M. Depew, J. Pierpont Morgan, Levi P. Morton, and John D. Rockefeller were soon added to the Committee. Shortly after the formation of the Central Cuban Relief Committee, a subsidiary of that Committee was organized as Auxiliary no. 1 under the title of the "First New York Ambulance Equipment Society." Its purpose was to purchase and equip ambulances, and its president was Mrs. W. S. Cowles. By May 22, 1898, the *New York Daily Tribune* was reporting its success, saying that three of the eleven ambulances had been ordered, and that the Society treasury had collected over $36,000 although more money was needed. The ambulances were ordered from the Studebaker Brothers Manufacturing Co. of South Bend, Indiana, and were to be the same as the Tooker ambulance, a type formerly built by Studebaker for the Government. Each ambulance was equipped with supplies in New York by the Society, and since each must have a name, those given by individuals were named after or by the donors.

The list of contributors of $2,000 for one ambulance each (the total was $24,000), consisted of Perry Belmont, Mrs. Royal Phelps Carrol, Mrs. Bayard and Mrs. Fulton Cutting, Mrs. Robert Goelet, Levi P. Morton, D. O. Mills, J. P. Morgan, Miss Emily Trevor, Mrs. A. E. Wood, Mrs. M. Orme Wilson, and William Cutting, Jr. ($4,000). An additional 136 persons contributed amounts of less than $500 each. Composed of such wealthy society and business leaders as Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Cowles, J. P. Morgan, Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, J. R. Roosevelt and others, the auxiliary continued collecting and in the meantime provided eleven equipped ambulances at a cost of $280.00 each and forty mules from the funds gathered by the Society. It is not clear why only 11 were purchased instead of 12 as planned.

Miss Barton left Washington for Cuba via Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West, and landed in Cuba on February 9, 1898. Immediately upon her arrival, she set about surveying the needs in the area and making improvements that would best relieve the suffering. On March 2, 1898, Stephen E. Barton wrote her from New York that the Central Cuban Relief Committee had five ambulances stored in their warehouse in Brooklyn and that the First New

Figure 4.—Office of the Central Cuban Relief Committee in New York, 1898. Left to right: Stephen E. Barton, chairman; Hon. Chas. A. Schieren; Miss Mary Agnes Coombs; Geo. C. Bolt; and Fred L. Ward. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

York Ambulance Red Cross Equipment Society, in addition to the five just presented, had two more with harness and other equipment. Stephen Barton suggested sending these latter two ambulances to Cuba to aid in the hospital work being carried on in the Havana area. Instead of two ambulances, however, six were sent by the New York Committee aboard the *Port Victor* in July 1898. Later that month, the Committee purchased forty mules in New Orleans and sent them to Miss Barton to enable her to distribute supplies. These mules, with fodder and ten sets of harnesses, were purchased by the First New York Ambulance Equipment Auxiliary Committee and were to be used in drawing the ambulances. The animals, pack mules weighing from 1100 to 1200 pounds each, were shipped in transport no. 2, U.S.A. Quartermaster's Department, for Guantanamo or Santiago under the direction of Red Cross agent, Charles D. Cottrell.

Meanwhile the six ambulances arrived in Cuba July 22, 1898, aboard the *Port Victor*. Loaded under other goods they were finally discharged, after a 47-day delay, and, as the result of an urgent appeal from the Secretary of the Navy to the Quartermaster's Department, were immediately reloaded on the schooner *Mary E. Morse* at Santiago on September 7, and sent to the northern coast of Santiago Province. There they were landed at Baracoa and Gibara on September 22, 1898, by the agents of the Red Cross.

Owing to the delay in unloading, the six ambulances could be put to no use in Cuba, and on October 24, 1898, following the signing of the armistice, Stephen Barton directed that they be brought back to New York. The feelings aroused by the Army's

Figure 5.—Ambulance alongside ship docked in Brooklyn, New York, at Nye's Elevator, where the Red Cross maintained a warehouse. (*Photo courtesy Library of Congress.*)

holding these vehicles was displayed in a letter dated October 11, 1898, from Miss Barton to her nephew:

> I am glad the ambulances go back to New York, and it perhaps would have been quite as well if the other hospital stuff which he found there had also gone; but he had no orders for this, and not knowing what was there, I could not tell him . . . . I must have told you what a good understanding remained between us; blessed old mules they would have worked, if they could have gotten anything to work in! But army orders were agin us and we kept the mules close by us and sent them safely home. Not a piece of harness, nor an ambulance was ever used or ever gotten at. [1]

Shipped to Brunswick, Georgia, on board the *Morse*, the ambulances were discharged and sent by the steamer *Princess Anne* to New York. Mr. Barton had suggested that they be sent to Washington, D.C., for storage, but since no warehouse was available there, they were kept in New York, where they remained for a short time outside the Red Cross warehouse in New York, with no protection whatever from the weather. Later, they were disassembled by Studebaker Brothers at a cost of $14.80 and stored inside (see fig. 5).

By November 1898, official protest was being made by the Red Cross to the U.S. Government for its having delayed delivery of the ambulances until they were no longer needed and for having seized ten thousand dollars worth of supplies. One of the most substantial complaints was found in a letter from the chairman of the Central Cuban Relief Committee, to the then Secretary of State John Hay:

> Our object in referring these reports to the Department is to inform you of the arbitrary seizure by the Army of the United States of a large and valuable lot of supplies belonging to this committee, and to enter our complain against such an insulting and unwarranted act, with the request that suitable action shall be taken . . . . We cannot believe that any conditions (especially in time of peace) could create a Military necessity for the forcible seizure by the War Department, and yet we are informed by our Agents that the plea of "Military necessity" was the only excuse given for this arrogant indignity against us . . . . We beg to call your attention to the large quantity of hospital furnishings and delicate foods included in this seizure, articles which are of no use at Gibara, except to add to the personal comfort of the officers of the Army, but which are sadly needed in

[1] Clara Barton Papers (Library of Congress accession 10357, box 37, folder 2).

Figure 6.—Patient being unloaded from a Red Cross ambulance in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. (*Photo courtesy National Library of Medicine.*)

> Santa Clara, Matanzas and Havana Provinces, where the Red Cross physicians are establishing hospitals for us and where we were to have sent supplies. [2]

This complaint was forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Secretary of War.

Puerto Rico

On July 23, 1898, two ambulances and mules were shipped from Tampa for use in Puerto Rico. That the two ambulances were of great service is evidenced by the Rev. Horace F. Barnes, field agent at Ponce, Puerto Rico, who wrote to Stephen Barton: "Our ambulances have proved invaluable. They are in hourly service, mostly in emergency cases, and the Government stables and feeds the mules free of expense to the Red Cross."

When the station closed in Puerto Rico, negotiations to dispose of the ambulances were begun. After a deal to sell them to the Express Company fell through, they were sold to a Mr. Hersey for $200.00. On December 24, 1898, General W. T. Bennett sent the New York headquarters $118.50, the sale price less $81.50 withheld by him for salary and expenses. The painted emblem and name of the American National Red Cross were removed before the ambulances were turned over to the purchasers.

In her book, *The Red Cross*, Clara Barton states that these ambulances proved of great value in emergency cases requiring quick transportation for both soldiers and supplies, but she further says "it must be admitted, however, that they proved also a delicate responsibility, as everybody seemed to regard them as free pleasure coaches in which the Red Cross was eager to take the town to ride." [3]

Long Island City

The Red Cross Relief Station at Long Island City was opened on August 29, 1898, in a 3-story structure supplied to the Society by Patrick J. Gleason, ex-mayor of Long Island City. Mrs. A. G. Hammond was in charge, with trained nurses supplied by Auxiliary no. 3, and two ambulances supplied by Auxiliary no. 1. Approximately $7,000 were expended

[2] Clara Barton Papers (Library of Congress accession 10357, box 52).

[3] *The Red Cross*, p. 446 (see bibliography).

Figure 7.—Red Cross headquarters at Camp Thomas, Georgia, in 1898, showing the ambulance now in the United States National Museum. (*Photo courtesy American Red Cross.*)

in carrying on the work of the Station.

Located near the railroad depot, the Red Cross Station was used as a stopping point for soldiers too sick to be transported long distances. As soon as they recovered sufficiently, sometimes after several days, they were sent on their way. As Clara Barton described the station: "to the soldier himself, weakened by illness and the fatigue of the journey, the place seemed a veritable haven of rest." [4] With the removal of troops, the relief station at Long Island City ceased to exist and the ambulances were transferred therefrom, one being sent to Miss Chauncey's Home for Convalescents at Pelham, while the other was sent to the Atlantic Highlands Convalescent Home.

Georgia

Sometime about the middle of June 1898, Red Cross work was started at Camp Thomas, Chickamagua Park, Georgia, by Dr. Charles R. Gill, who was later joined by Mr. Elias Charles Smith. About $15,785 in cash, besides supplies, was furnished this camp.

On August 10, 1898, Mr. Smith telegraphed to New York, stating his immediate need for one army wagon with mules and harnesses. Since the Auxiliary had an ambulance in stock and did not have a light delivery wagon, the ambulance was sent in its stead. Mules were not sent with the ambulance, since it was determined that the Georgia station could hire a pair at less expense. The ambulance arrived at the depot in nearby Chattanooga on August 25. After having had the ambulance for 12 days, Mr. Smith proudly reported that they then had "the best looking ambulance and team in the Park and that the ambulance had been of great service to him and had also carried several sick soldiers." [5]

Prior to the closing of the facilities at this camp, an inventory of the Red Cross property was taken and Stephen Barton suggested that the ambu-

[4] *The Red Cross in Peace and War*, p. *505* (see bibliography).

[5] Clara Barton Papers (Library of Congress accession 10357, box 50, folder 3).

Figure 8.—Ambulance before being restored for exhibition. Used at Camp Thomas, Georgia, and later by Miss Clara Barton at her home in Glen Echo, Maryland, it was acquired by the American Red Cross from private owners and loaned to the U.S. National Museum. (*Photo courtesy American Red Cross.*)

lance, harness, and saddle be sent to the Red Cross headquarters at Washington, while the other supplies be sent to Havana, via Tampa. Acting on his own suggestion, in a letter to Clara Barton he asked if she might not like the ambulance sent to Washington for use at the headquarters. To this, Miss Barton replied that she would like very much to have the ambulance sent to her in Glen Echo and that it would be very useful, provided it was not needed somewhere else. Her check sent to pay for the expense of transporting the ambulance was returned, and in acknowledging receipt of the ambulance on December 9, 1898, Miss Barton said: "It was most gracious and lovely of you to send back that check of freight for the ambulance. I did not know anything about it myself, only that I sent the money and had the ambulance brought up, and your check comes to replace it. I have not even had time to look at it yet; but I think it is a very nice, strong thing to have, especially out in the country where one does their own teaming and besides, one can get sick very officially. Again I thank you for it all." [6]

[6] Clara Barton Papers (Library of Congress accession 10357, box 37).

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Woodworking Tools, 1600–1900

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Peter C. Welsh

WOODWORKING TOOLS

1600–1900

This history of woodworking hand tools from the 17th to the 20th century is one of a very gradual evolution of tools through generations of craftsmen. As a result, the sources of changes in design are almost impossible to ascertain. Published sources, moreover, have been concerned primarily with the object shaped by the tool rather than the tool itself. The resulting scarcity of information is somewhat compensated for by collections in museums and restorations.

In this paper, the author spans three centuries in discussing the specialization, configuration, and change of woodworking tools in the United States.

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IN 1918, PROFESSOR W. M. F. PETRIE concluded a brief article on "History in Tools" with a reminder that the history of this subject "has yet to be studied," and lamented the survival of so few precisely dated specimens. What Petrie found so discouraging in studying the implements of the ancient world has consistently plagued those concerned with tools of more recent vintage. Anonymity is the chief characteristic of hand tools of the last three centuries. The reasons are many: first, the tool is an object of daily use, subjected while in service to hard wear and, in some cases, ultimate destruction; second, a tool's usefulness is apt to continue through many years and through the hands of several generations of craftsmen, with the result that its origins become lost; third, the achievement of an implement of demonstrated proficiency dictated against radical, and therefore easily datable, changes in shape or style; and fourth, dated survivals needed to establish a range of firm control specimens for the better identification of unknowns, particularly the wooden elements of tools—handles, moldings, and plane bodies—are frustratingly few in nonarid archeological sites. When tracing the provenance of American tools there is the additional problem of heterogeneous origins and shapes—that is, what was the appearance

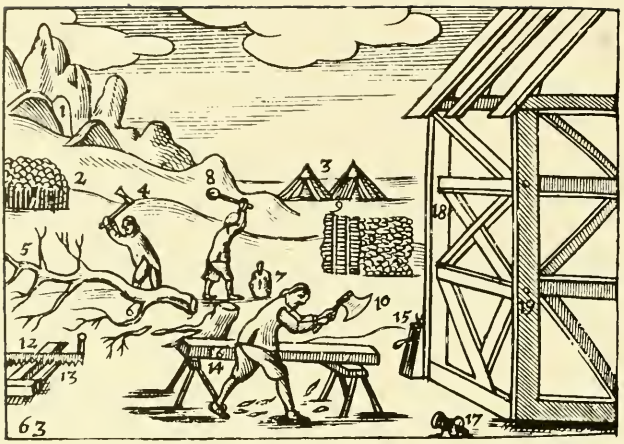


Figure 1.—1685: The principal tools that the carpenter needed to frame a house, as listed by Johann Amos Comenius in his *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* were the felling axe (4), wedge and beetle (7 and 8), chip axe (10), saw (12), trestle (14), and pulley (15). (Charles Hoole transl., London, 1685. *Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.*)

of a given tool prior to its standardization in England and the United States? The answer requires a brief summary of the origin of selected tool shapes, particularly those whose form was common to both the British Isles and the Continent in the 17th century. Beyond this, when did the shape of English tools begin to differ from the shape of tools of the Continent? Finally, what tool forms predominated in American usage and when, if in fact ever, did any of these tools achieve a distinctly American character? In the process of framing answers to these questions, one is confronted by a constantly diminishing literature, coupled with a steadily increasing number of tool types.[1]

The literature of the subject, both new and old, is sparse, with interest always centering upon the object shaped by the craftsman's tool rather than upon the tool itself. Henry Mercer's *Ancient Carpenters' Tools*, first published in 1929, is an exception. It remains a rich source of information based primarily on the marvelous collections preserved by the Bucks County Historical Society. Since 1933, the Early American Industries Association, both through collecting and through its *Chronicle*, has called attention to the vanishing trades, their tools and techniques; the magazine *Antiques* has occasionally dealt with this subject. Historians of economic and industrial development usually neglect the tools of the woodcrafts,

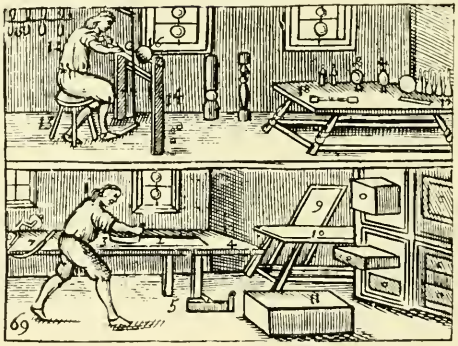


Figure 2.—1685: The boxmaker and turner as pictured by Comenius required planes (3 and 5), workbench (4), auger (6), knife (7), and lathe (14). (From Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus. Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.*)

and when considering the toolmakers, they have reference only to the inventors and producers of machine tools. The dearth of written material is somewhat compensated for by the collections of hand tools in American museums and restorations, notably those at Williamsburg, Cooperstown, Old Sturbridge Village, Winterthur, the Henry Ford Museum, and Shelburne; at the latter in particular the extensive collection has been bolstered by Frank H. Wildung's

[1] W. M. Flinders Petrie, "History in Tools," *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution*, 1918, pp. 563–572 [reprint].

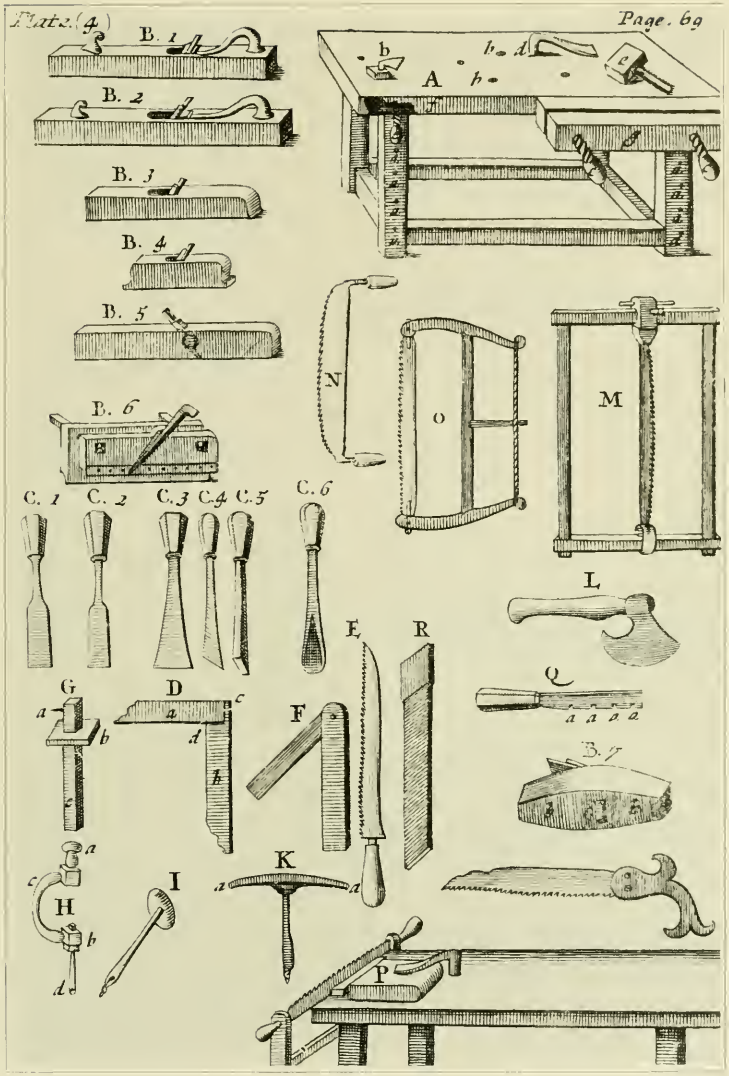


Figure 3.—1703: The tools of the joiner illustrated by Moxon are the workbench (A), fore plane (B. 1), jointer (B. 2), strike-block (B. 3), smoothing plane (B. 4 and B. 7), rabbet plane (B. 5), plow (B. 6), forming chisels (C. 1 and C. 3), paring chisel (C. 2), skew former (C. 4), mortising chisel (sec. C. 5), gouge (C. 6), square (D), bevel (F), gauge (G), brace and bit (H), gimlet (I), auger (K), hatchet (L), pit saw (M), whipsaw (N), frame saw (O), saw set (Q), handsaw (unmarked), and compass saw (E). (Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises* . . . , 3rd ed., London, 1703. Library of Congress.)

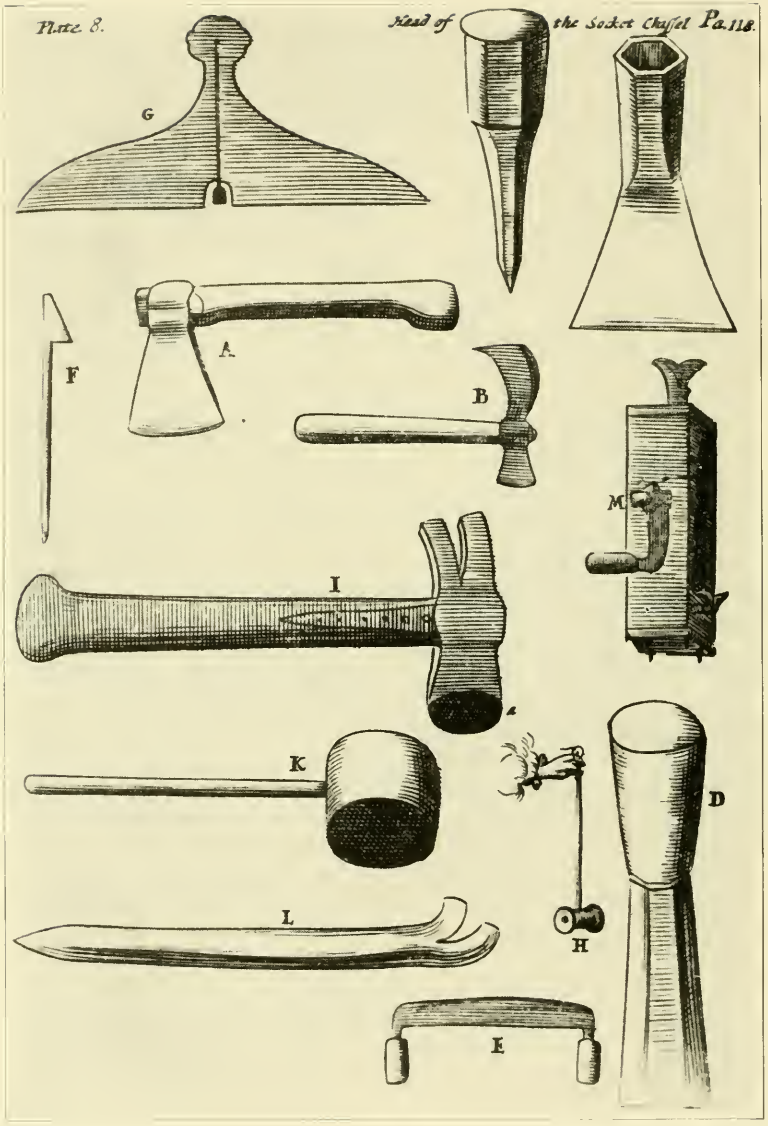


Figure 4.—1703: ONLY THE PRINCIPAL TOOLS used in carpentry are listed by Moxon: the axe (A), adz (B), socket chisel (C), ripping chisel (D), drawknife (E), hookpin (F), bevel (G), plumb line (H), hammer (I), commander (K), crow (L), and jack (M). (Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises . . .*, 1703. Library of Congress.)

museum pamphlet, "Woodworking Tools at Shelburne Museum." The most informative recent American work on the subject is Eric Sloane's handsomely illustrated *A Museum of Early American Tools*, published in 1964. Going beyond just the tools of the woodworker, Sloane's book also includes agricultural implements. It is a delightful combination of appreciation of early design, nostalgia, and useful fact.

Charles Hummel's forthcoming *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton*—to be published by the Yale University Press—will be a major contribution to the literature dealing with Anglo-American woodworking tools. Hummel's book will place in perspective Winterthur Museum's uniquely documented Dominy Woodshop Collection. This extensive collection of tools—over a thousand in number—is rich in attributed and dated examples which range from the early 18th through the mid-19th century. The literature of the subject has been greatly enhanced by the English writer, W. L. Goodman. Extending a series of articles that first appeared in the *Journal of The Institute of Handicraft Teachers*, Goodman has put together a well-researched *History of Woodworking Tools* (London, 1964), one particularly useful for its wealth of illustration from antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Specialization

Given the limitations of precise dating, uncertain provenance, and an uneven literature, what can be learned about woodworking tools after 1600? In some instances, design change can be noted and documented to provide at least a general criteria for dating. Frequently, the original appearance of tools can be documented. For some hand tools, characteristics can be established that denote a national origin. Not infrequently a tool's style, decorative motif, or similarity to other objects that coexisted at a given time can suggest, even in relatively modern times, the values of the society that produced it. The source of such information derived from the hand tool is generally visual, recorded in the tool itself or in pictures of it and supported by manuscript and printed material.

Survey the principal printed sources of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. The first thing that is apparent is a remarkable proliferation of tool types without any significant change in the definition and description of the carpenter's or joiner's task. Begin in 1685 with Charles Hoole's translation of Johann Amos Comenius' *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* for use as a Latin grammar. Among the occupations chosen to illustrate vocabulary and usage were the carpenter (fig. 1), the boxmaker (cabinetmaker), and the turner (fig. 2). "The Carpenter," according to Hoole's text, "squareth Timber with a Chip ax . . . and saweth it with a Saw" while the more specialized "Box-maker, smootheth hewen-Boards with a Plain upon a Workboard, he maketh them very smooth with a little plain, he boarth them thorow with an Augre, carveth them with a Knife, fasteneth them together with Glew, and Cramp-Irons, and maketh Tables, Boards, Chests &c." Hoole repeated Comenius' plates with the result that the craftsman's tools and his work have the same characteristic medieval flavor as the text.[2]

Joseph Moxon in his well-quoted work on the mechanic arts defined joinery as "an Art Manual, whereby several Pieces of Wood are so fitted and join'd together by Straight-line, Squares, Miters or any Bevel, that they shall seem one intire Piece." Including the workbench, Moxon described and illustrated 30 tools (fig. 3) needed by the joiner. The carpenter's tools were less favored by illustration; only 13 were pictured (fig. 4). The tools that the carpenter used were the same as those of the joiner except that the carpenter's tools were structurally stronger. The axe serves as a good example of the difference. The joiner's axe was light and short handled with the left side of the cutting edge bezeled to accommodate one-handed use. The carpenter's axe, on the other hand, was intended "to hew great Stuff" and was made deeper and heavier to facilitate the squaring and beveling of timbers.[3] By mid-18th century the craft of joiner and carpenter had been completely rationalized in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* and by André Roubo in his *L'Art du menuisier*, a part of Duhamel's *Descriptions des arts et métiers*. Diderot, for example, illustrates 14 bench planes alone, generally used by the joiner (fig. 5), while Roubo suggests the steady sophistication of the art in a plate showing the special planes and irons required for fine molding and paneling (fig. 6).

Despite such thoroughness, without the addition of the several plates it would be almost impossible to

[2] Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, transl. Charles Hoole (London, 1685), pp. 130, 143.

[3] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*, 3rd. ed. (London, 1703), pp. 63, 119.

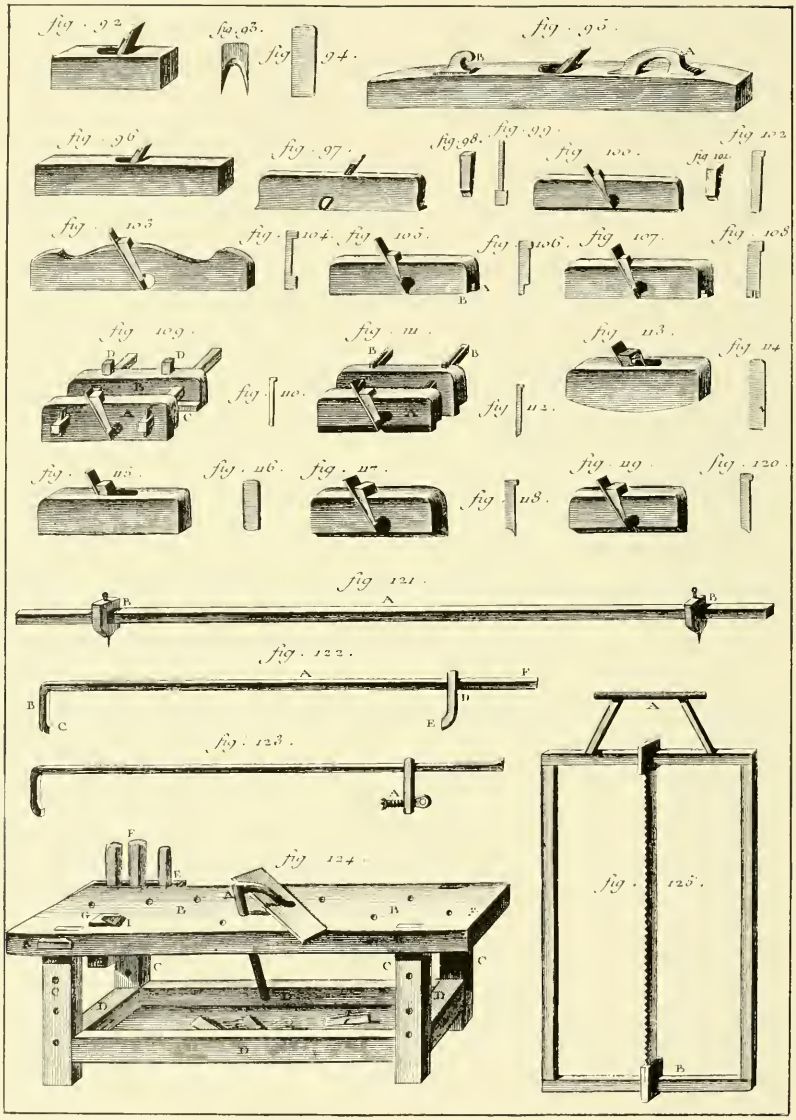


Figure 5.—1769: The bench planes of the joiner increased in number, but in appearance they remained much the same as those illustrated by Moxon. (Denis Diderot, *Recueil de planches sur les science et les arts libéraux*, Paris, 1769, vol. 7, "Menuiserie." Smithsonian photo 56630.)

visualize, through the descriptive text alone, the work of the carpenter and joiner except, of course, in modern terms. This is particularly true of the numerous texts on building, such as Batty Langley's *The Builder's Complete Assistant* (1738) and Francis Price's *The British Carpenter* (1765), where building techniques are well described but illustration of tools is omitted. This inadequacy grows. In two 19th-century American editions of British works, *The Book of Trades*, printed at Philadelphia in 1807, and Hazen's *Panorama of the Professions and Trades* (1838), the descriptions of the carpenter's trade are extremely elementary.

Thomas Martin's *Circle of the Mechanical Arts* (1813), although far more thorough than many texts, still defined carpentry "as the art of cutting out, framing, and joining large pieces of wood, to be used in building" and joinery as "small work" or what "is called by the French, *menuiserie*." Martin enumerated 16 tools most useful to the carpenter and 21 commonly used by the joiner; in summary, he noted, as had Moxon, that "both these arts are subservient to architecture, being employed in raising, roofing, flooring and ornamenting buildings of all kinds" (fig. 7).[4]

In Peter Nicholson's *The Mechanic's Companion* (figs. 8, 9, and 10), the all-too-familiar definition of carpentry as "the art of employing timber in the construction of buildings" suggests very little of the carpenter's actual work or the improvement in tool design that had occurred since Moxon's *Exercises*. From Nicholson's list of the tools required by the carpenter—"a ripping saw, a hand saw, an axe, an adze, a socket chisel, a firmer chisel, a ripping chisel, an auguer, a gimlet, a hammer, a mallet, a pair of pincers, and sometimes planes"—there would seem at first glance slight advance since the 1600's. The enumeration of the joiner's tools, however, indicates a considerable proliferation, particularly when compared to earlier writers. By the early 19th century, the more refined work of joinery required over 50 tools.

> The bench planes [instructed Nicholson] are, the jack plane, the fore plane, the trying plane, the long plane, the jointer, and the smoothing plane; the cylindric plane, the compass and forkstaff planes; the straight block, for straightening short edges. Rebating planes are the moving fillister, the sash fillister, the common rebating plane, the side rebating plane. Grooving planes are the plough and dado grooving planes. Moulding planes are sinking snipebills, side snipebills, beads, hollows and rounds, ovolos and ogees. Boring tools are: gimlets, brad-awls, stock, and bits. Instruments for dividing the wood, are principally the ripping saw, the half ripper, the hand saw, the panel saw, the tenon saw, the carcase saw, the sash saw, the compass saw, the keyhole saw, and turning saw. Tools used for forming the angles of two adjoining surfaces, are squares and bevels. Tools used for drawing parallel lines are guages. Edge tools are the firmer chisel, the mortise chisel, the socket chisel, the gouge, the hatchet, the adge, the drawing knife. Tools for knocking upon wood and iron are, the mallet and hammer. Implements for sharpening tools are the grinding stone, the rub stone, and the oil or whet stone.[5]

Reflecting what the text writers listed, toolmakers by the end of the 18th century gave buyers a wide choice. The catalogue of Sheffield's Castle Hill Works offered 20 combinations of ready-stocked tool chests; the simplest contained 12 carpenter's tools and the most complex, 39, plus, if desired, an additional assortment of gardening implements (fig. 11). In 1857, the Arrowmammett Works of Middletown, Connecticut, producers of bench and molding planes, published an illustrated catalogue that offered 34 distinct types that included everything from hollows and rounds to double jointers and hand-rail planes (fig. 12).[6]

American inventories reflect the great increase suggested by the early technical writers and trade catalogues cited above. Compare the content of two American carpenters' shops—one of 1709, in York County, Virginia, and the other of 1827, in Middleborough, Massachusetts. John Crost, a Virginian, owned, in addition to sundry shoemaking and agricultural implements, a dozen gimlets, chalklines, bung augers, a dozen turning tools and mortising chisels, several dozen planes (ogees, hollows and rounds, and plows), several augers, a pair of 2-foot rules, a spoke shave, lathing hammers, a lock saw, three files, compasses, paring chisels, a jointer's hammer, three handsaws, filling axes, a broad axe, and two adzes.

(*Continued on page 192*)

[4] *Martin, Circle of the Mechanical Arts* (1813), p. 123.

[5] Peter Nicholson, *The Mechanic's Companion* (Philadelphia, 1832), pp. 31, 89–90.

[6] *Catalog*, Book 87, Cutler and Co., Castle Hill Works, Sheffield [in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London]; and *Illustrated Supplement to the Catalogue of Bench Planes*, Arrowmammett Works (Middletown, Conn., 1857) [in the Smithsonian Institution Library].

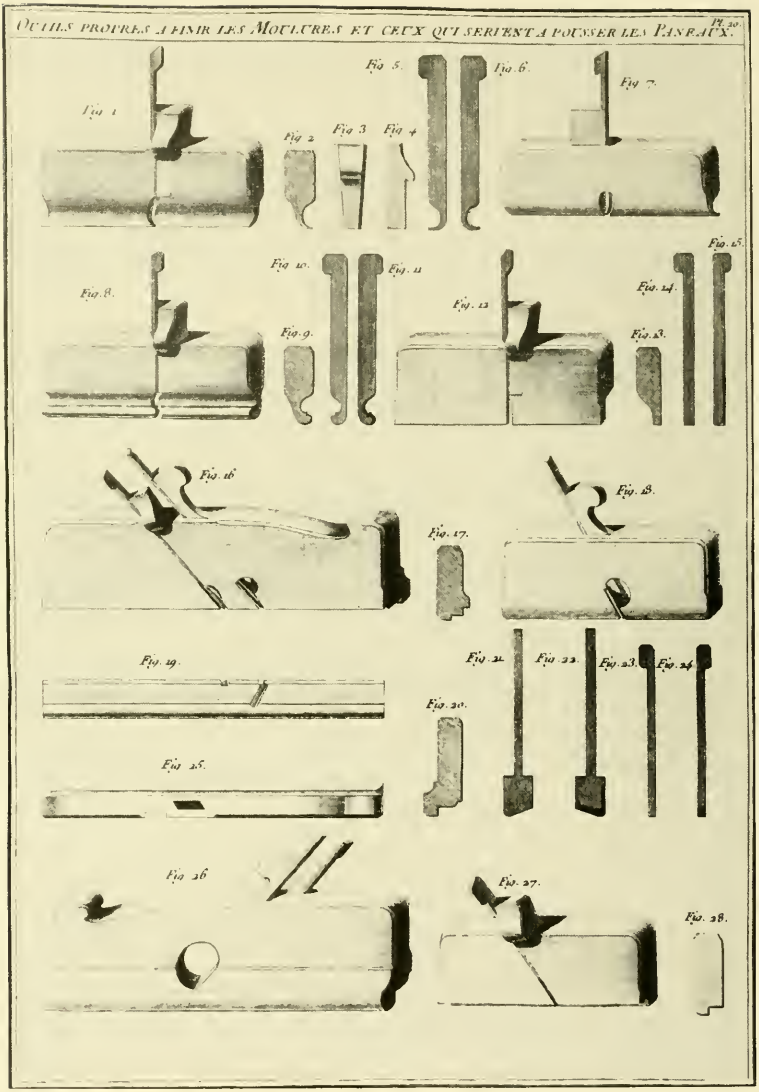


Figure 6.—1774: André Roubo's *L'Art du menuisier* contains detailed plates and descriptions of the most specialized of woodworking planes: those used to cut panel moldings. The conformation of these tools was still distinctly in keeping with the Moxon type and suggests that, at least in Europe, no remarkable change had yet occurred in the shape of planes. (André-Jacob Roubo, *L'Art du menuisier:* Troisième partie, troisième section l'art du menuisier ébéniste [Paris, 1774]. Smithsonian photo 49790–D.)

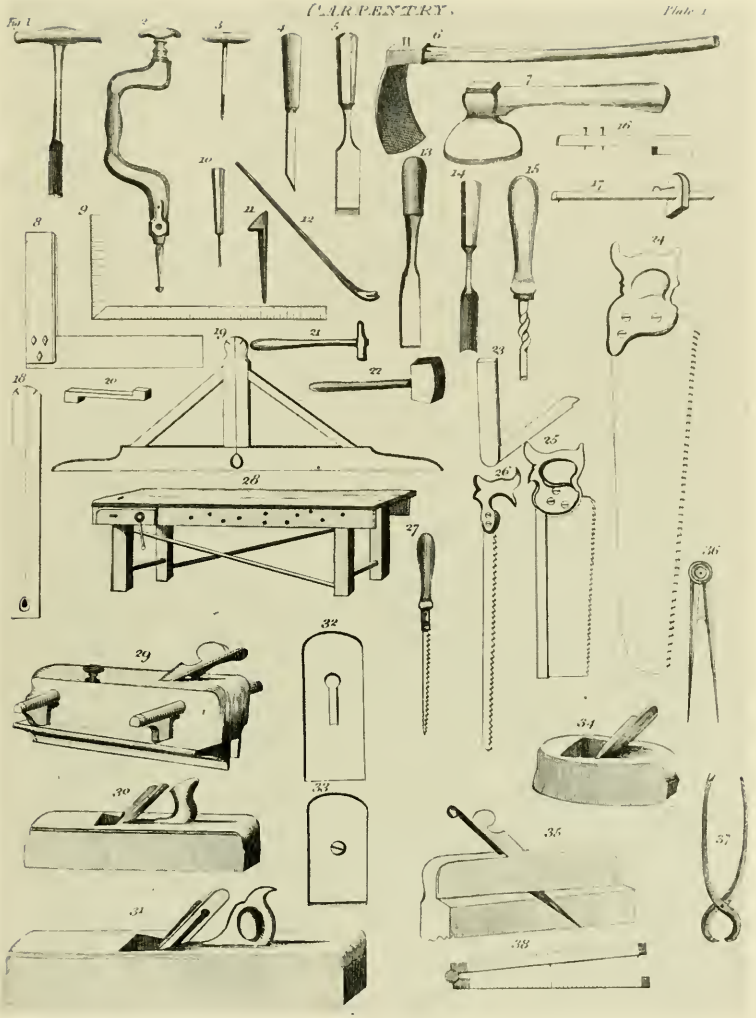


Figure 7.—1813: Thomas Martin illustrated on one plate the tools of the carpenter and joiner dividing them as follows: the tools most useful to the carpenter, the axe (7), adz (6), saw (24), socket chisel (13), firmer chisel (5), auger (1), gimlet (3), gauge (16), square (9), compass (36), hammer (21), mallet (22), hookpin (11), crow (12), plumb rule (18), and level (19); and the tools most often associated with joinery, the jack plane (30), trying plane (31), smoothing plane (34), tenon saw (25), compass saw (26), keyhole saw (27), square (8), bevel (23), gauge (17), mortise chisel (4), gouge (14), turnscrew (15), plow plane (29), molding plane (35), pincers (37), bradawl (10), stock and bit (2), sidehook (20), workbench (28), and rule (38). The planes are of particular interest since they show clearly a change in form from those previously illustrated. (Thomas Martin, *The Circle of the Mechanical Arts*, London, 1813.)

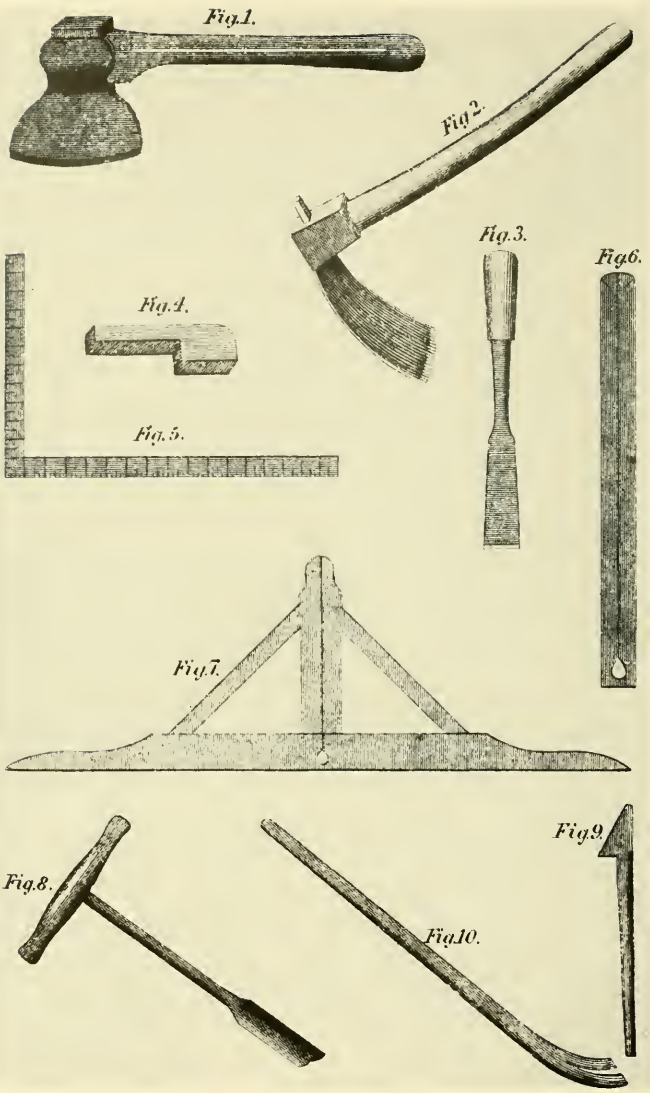


Figure 8.—1832: Peter Nicholson illustrated an interesting mixture of old and new forms. An updating of Moxon, Nicholson's carpenter required an axe (1), adz (2), socket chisel (3), mortise and tenon gauge (4), square (5), plumb rule (6), level (7), auger (8), hookpin (9), and crow (10). (Peter Nicholson, *The Mechanic's Companion.* 1st American ed., Philadelphia, 1832. Smithsonian photo 56633.)

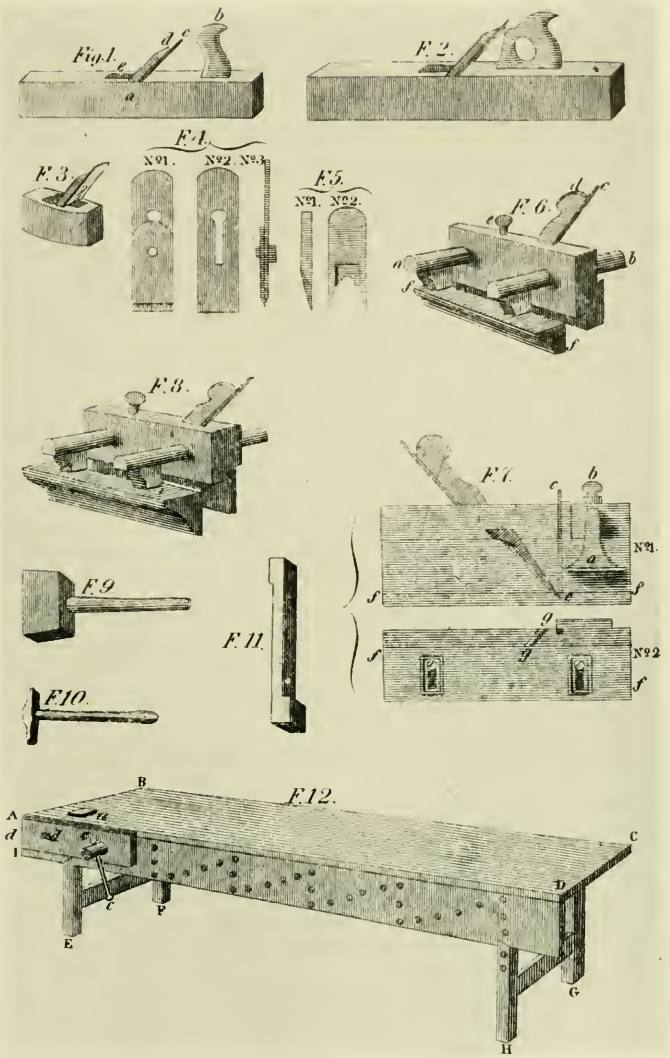
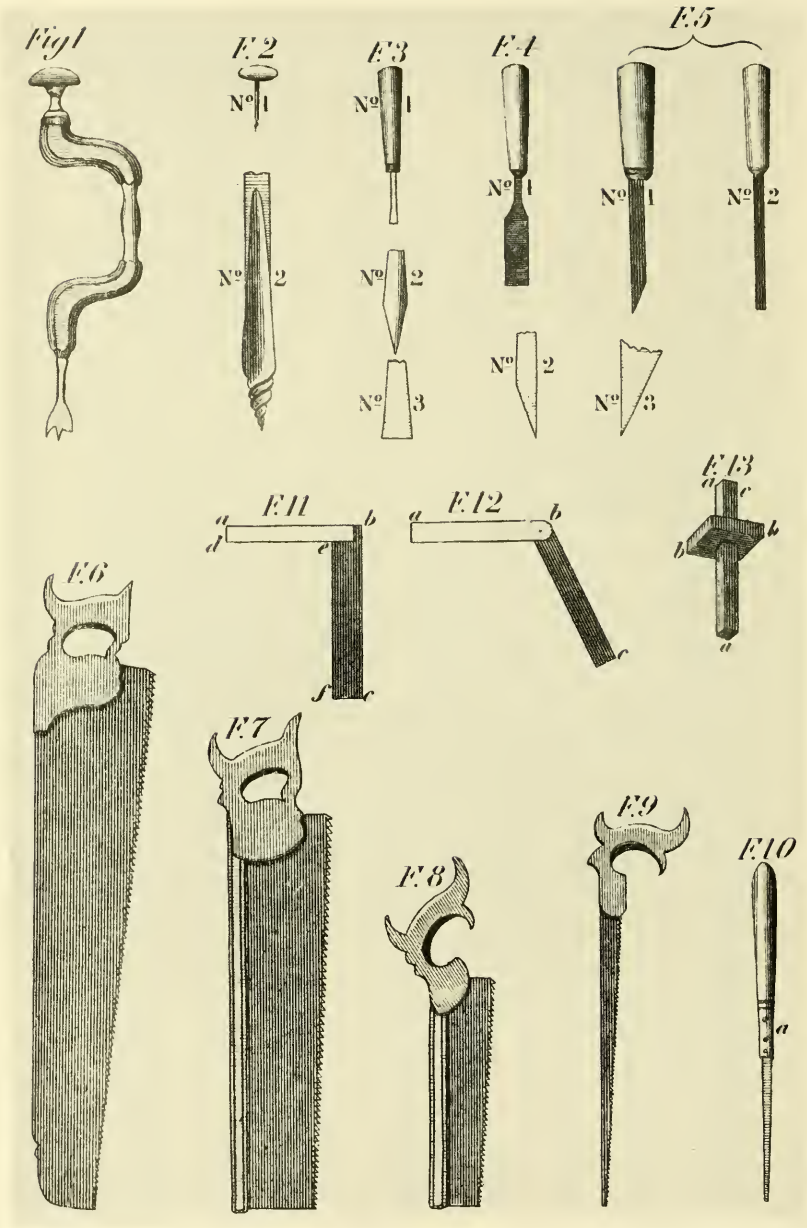


Figure 9.—1832: The workbench delineated by Nicholson was little improved over Moxon's, although the planes—jack (1), trying plane (2), smoothing plane (3), sash fillister (7), and plow (8)—followed the form seen in Martin (fig. 7). The inception of this shape occurred in the shops of Sheffield toolmakers in the last half of the 18th century, and it persisted until replaced by metallic versions patented by American innovators during the last quarter of the 19th century. (Nicholson, *The Mechanic's Companion*. Smithsonian photo 56631.)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Nº 2
Nº 3

Figure 10.—1832: THE BRACE AND BIT, GIMLET, CHISELS, AND SAWS, having achieved a standard form distinctly different than those of Moxon's vintage, were, like the plane, slow to change. The metallic version of the brace did not replace the standard Sheffield type (1) in the United States until after 1850. For all intent and purpose the saw still retains the characteristics illustrated in Nicholson. Of interest is Nicholson's comment regarding the saws; namely, that the double handle was peculiar to the hand (6) and tenon saws (7), while the compass (9) and the sash saws (8) had the single handle. In addition the tenon saw was generally backed in iron and the sash saw in brass. (Nicholson, *The Mechanic's Companion*. Smithsonian photo 56632.)

GENTLEMEN's OAK TOOL CHESTS, *of different Sorts, as follow:*

N°. 6, contains as under:—

In the cheſt is contained, a hammer, ſaw ſet, pair bright pincers, pair bright cutting nippers, 2 pairs bright plyers, 1 hand vice, 2 foot rule, pair ſteel compaſſes, pair rack compaſſes, a ſtriking knife, 1 brad punch, 4 brad awls, 6 gimblets ſorted, 3 turn ſcrews, a claw wrench, 1 bright chiſſel, and ſundry partitions, containing a great variety of nails, wood ſcrews, braſs work, &c. &c. In a drawer is contained, a brace with 12 bits ſorted, a ſmall bick iron, a bevil and ſquare, a ſpoke-ſhave, a line and roller, 5 files; 1 raſp and key-hole ſaw, 4 firmers, 2 gouges, and 3 mortice chiſſels. In another drawer is contained, an oil ſtone in a wood caſe, a mallet, jack plane, ſmoothing plane, beſt hand ſaw, beſt dove-tail ſaw, hatchet, and a glue pot.

N°. 7, contains as under:—

In the cheſt and in two drawers are contained, the ſame tools as in N°. 6. In another drawer is contained, a ſet of garden tools, as follows:—a rake, a ſaw, an hook bill, a paddle, a hoe, and a fruit knife with hook; theſe 6 articles made to ſcrew into a feril to fix upon a ſtaff; alſo a pruning knife, a pair of ſciſſars, a pair of ſhears, a fork, and ſome liſt.

N. B. *Any of the other cheſts may be had with a drawer containing a ſet of garden tools, as in* N°. 7, *for* l. s. d. *more.*

N°. 13, contains a ſet of garden tools, as follow:—

A rake, a ſaw, an hook bill, a paddle, a hoe, and a fruit knife with hook; theſe 6 articles made to ſcrew into a feril to fix upon a ſtaff; alſo a hammer, a fork, a pair of ſciſſars, and a partition with ſome nails and liſt.

N° 14, contains a ſet of garden tools, as under:—

A rake, a ſaw, a hook bill, a paddle, a hoe, a fruit knife, with hook, theſe 6 articles made to ſcrew into a [illegible] upon a ſtaff; alſo a hammer, a fork, a pruning knife, a pair of ſciſſars, a pair of ſhears, a ſmall hand ſaw, and a [illegible]et; 3 gimblets, and a partition with ſome nails and liſt.

☞ *Any of the above cheſts may be had, mahogany inſtead of oak, at an extra Price.*

N°. 15, contains a ſet of tools in a japan'd caſe, 6 inches long, as follows:—

A hand pad, hammer, 2 ſaws, 2 gimblets, 2 awls, 2 turn ſcrews, 1 rimer, 1 counter ſink, 1 chiſſel, and 1 gouge, all to fix in the pad.

N°. 16, contains a ſet of tools in a japan'd caſe, 8 inches long, as follows:—

A hand pad, hammer, 2 ſaws, 2 gimblets, 2 awls, 3 turn ſcrews, 2 chiſſels, 2 gouges, 1 rimer, 1 counter ſink, half round and flat file, half round and flat raſp, and 1 ſquare file, all to fix in the pad.

N°. 17, contains the ſame tools as in N°. 16, with the addition of a table vice.

N°. 18, contains the ſame tools as N°. 17, only mahogany caſe.

N°. 19, contains the ſame tools as N°. 16, only mahogany caſe.

N°. 20, contains the ſame tools as N°. 17, only mahogany caſe.

Figure 11.—EARLY 19TH CENTURY: THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF TOOLMAKERS indicated the diversity of production. The Castle Hill Works at Sheffield offered to gentlemen 20 choices of tool chests designed to appeal to a wide variety of users and purses. The chest was available in either oak or mahogany, depending on the gentleman's tastes (fig. 49). (Book 87, Cutler and Company, Castle Hill Works, Sheffield. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*)

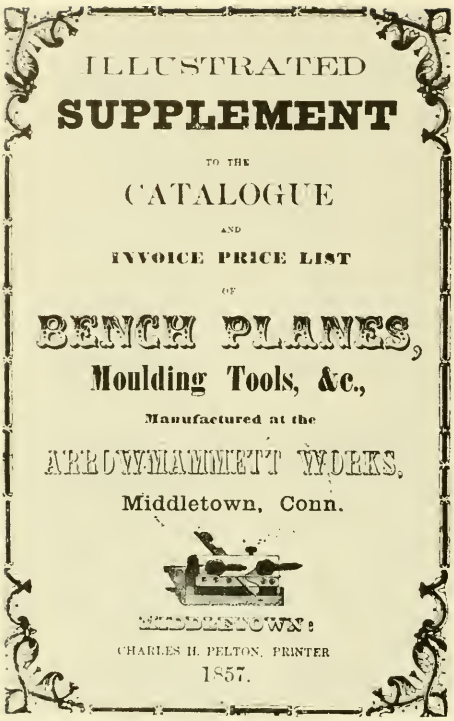


Figure 12.—1857: The diversity of tools available to buyers made necessary the illustrated trade catalogue. Although few in number in the United States before 1850, tool catalogues became voluminous in the last half of the century as printing costs dropped. (Smithsonian Institution Library. Smithsonian photo 49790.)

(*Continued from page 185*)

Nearly 120 years later Amasa Thompson listed his tools and their value. Thompson's list is a splendid comparison of the tools needed in actual practice, as opposed to the tools suggested by Nicholson in his treatise on carpentry or those shown in the catalogues of the toolmakers.[7] Thompson listed the following:

1 set bench planes	$6.00
1 Broad Axe	3.00
1 Adze	2.25
1 Panel saw	1.50
1 Panel saw	1.58
1 fine do-	1.58
1 Drawing knife	.46
1 Trying square	.93
1 Shingling hatchet	.50
1 Hammer	.50
1 Rabbit plane	.83
1 Halving do	.50
1 Backed fine saw	1.25
1 Inch augre	.50
1 pr. dividers or compasses-	.71
1 Panel saw for spliting	2.75
1 Tennon guage	1.42
1 Bevel	.84
1 Bradd Hammer	.50
1 *Architect Book*	6.50
1 Case Mathematical Instruments	3.62½
1 Panel saw	2.75
1 Grafting saw	1.00
1 Bench screw	1.00
1 Stamp	2.50
1 Double joint rule	.62½
1 Sash saw	1.12½
1 Oil Cann	.17
1 Brace & 36 straw cold bits	9.00
1 Window Frame tool	4.00
1 Blind tool	1.33
1 Glue Kettle	.62½
1 Grindstone without crank	1.75
1 Machine for whetting saws	.75
1 Tennoning machine	4.50
Drafting board and square Bevel	1.25
1 Noseing sash plane with templets & copes	4.50
1 pr. clamps for clamping doors	2.17
1 Set Bench Planes—double irons.-	7.50
1 Grindstone 300 lbs @	6.25
1 Stove for shop–$7.25, one elbow. .37 & 40 lbs second hand pipe $4.00	11.62
1 Bed moulding	2.00
1 Pr. shears for cutting tin.-	.17
1 Morticing Machine	10.75
1 Grecian Ovilo	1.13
1 3/16 beed	.67
1 Spirit level	2.25
1 Oil stone	.42
1 Small trying square	.48
1 pareing chisel	.37
1 Screw driver	.29
1 Bench screw	.75
1 Box rule	.50
1 3/4 Augre	.41

[7] York County Records, Virginia Deeds, Orders, and Wills, no. 13 (1706–1710), p. 248; and the inventory of Amasa Thompson in Lawrence B. Romaine, "A Yankee Carpenter and His Tools," *The Chronicle* of the Early American Industries Association (July 1953), vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 33–34.

11 Gouges	1.19
13 Chisels	1.17
1 small iron vice	.52
1 pr. Hollow Rounds	.86
4 Framing chisels	1.05
1 Grove plough & Irons—Sold at 4.50	5.00
1 Sash plane for 1¼ stuff	1.50
1 Copeing plane	.67
1 Bead ¼–	.75
1 Bead ¾	1.00
1 Rabbit (Sold at .92)	.92
1 Smooth plane	1.50
1 Strike Block	.92
1 Compass saw	.42
6 Guages	1.83
1 Dust brush	.25
1 Rasp, or wood file	.25
1 Augre 2 in	.76
1 Augre 1 in	.40
1 Do ¾	.30
1 Spoke shave	.50
1 Bevel–	.25
1 Box rule	.84
1 Iron square	1.42
1 Box rule	1.25
1 Spur Rabbit (Sold–1.17)–	1.33
1 Pannel plane	1.25
1 Sash plane	1.25
1 pr. Match planes	2.25
1 Two inch chisel or firmer–	.42
1 Morticing chisel ⅜	.25
1 Large screw driver	1.00
1 Pr. small clamps	.50
1 pr. Spring dividers	.92
1 do-nippers	.20
1 Morticing chisel ½ in	.28
1 Ovilo & Ostrigal ¾–	1.25
1 Scotia & Ostrigal ⅝–	1.08
1 Noseing–	1.08
1 Pr. Hollow & rounds	1.33
1 Ogee– ½ inch	1.00
1 Ostrigal ⅞ inch	1.00
1 Bit–	.15
1 Beed ½ inch	.83
1 Claw hammer	.67
1 Fillister	2.50
2 Beeds at ⅝	1.83
1 Pair Quirk tools	1.50
1 Side Rabbit plane	.83
1 Large steel tongued sq	1.71
1 Saw & Pad	.67
1 pr. fire stones	.50
1 small trying sq	.50
1 Set Bench planes double ironed without smooth plane	6.00
1 Bench screw	.75

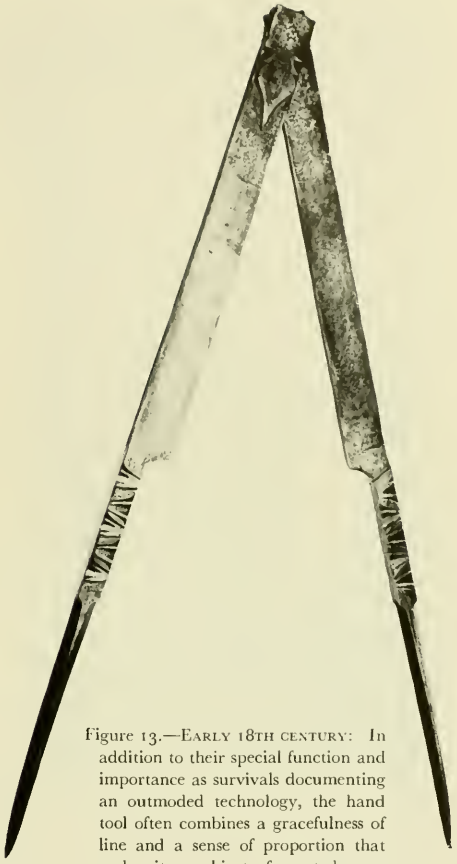


Figure 13.—Early 18th century: In addition to their special function and importance as survivals documenting an outmoded technology, the hand tool often combines a gracefulness of line and a sense of proportion that makes it an object of great decorative appeal. The dividers of the builder or shipwright illustrated here are of French origin and may be valued as much for their cultural significance as for their technical importance. (Smithsonian photo 49792-G.)

By 1900, the carpenter's tool chest, fully stocked and fit for the finest craftsman, contained 90 or more tools. Specialization is readily apparent; the change in, and achievement of, the ultimate design of a specific tool is not so easily pinpointed. Only by comparing illustrations and surviving examples can such an

Figure 14.—1688: Frontispiece from John Brown, *The Description and Use of the Carpenter's Rule*, London, 1688. (Library of Congress.)

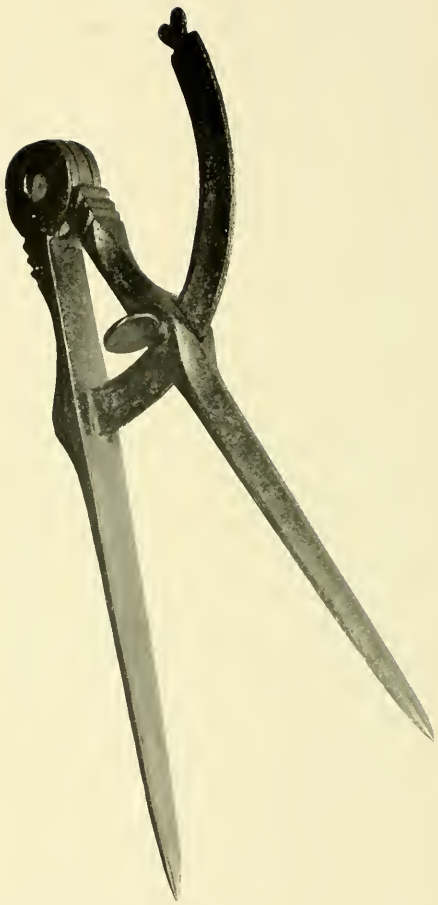


Figure 15.—18th century: Cabinetmaker's dividers of English origin. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49789-B.)

evolution be appreciated and in the process, whether pondering the metamorphosis of a plane, a brace and bit, or an auger, the various stages of change encountered coincide with the rise of modern industrial society.

Configuration

Hand tools are often neglected in the search for the pleasing objects of the past. Considered too utilitarian, their decorative appeal—the mellow patina of the wood plane or the delicately tapered legs of a pair of dividers—often goes unnoticed. Suprisingly modern in design, the ancient carpenter's or cabinetmaker's tool has a vitality of line that can, without reference to technical significance, make it an object of considerable grace and beauty. The hand tool is frequently a lively and decorative symbol of a society at a given time—a symbol, which, according to the judges at London's Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851, gives "indications of the peculiar condition and habits of the people whence they come, of their social and

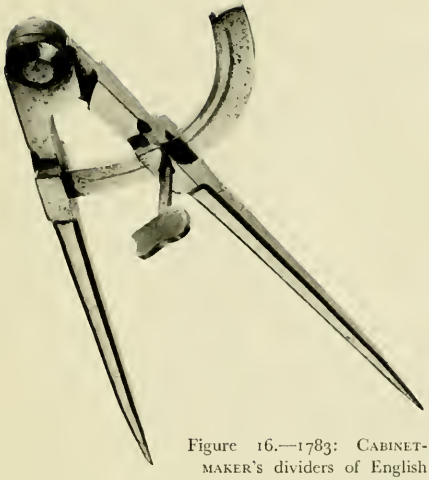


Figure 16.—1783: Cabinetmaker's dividers of English manufacture, dated, and marked T. Pearmain. See detail, figure 17. (Smithsonian photo 49792–C.)

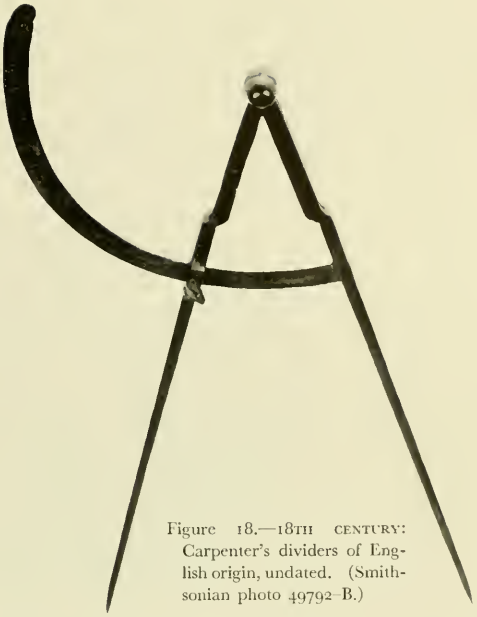


Figure 18.—18th century: Carpenter's dividers of English origin, undated. (Smithsonian photo 49792–B.)

industrial wants and aims, as well as their natural or acquired advantages." [8] The hand tool, therefore, should be considered both as an object of appealing shape and a document illustrative of society and its progress.

On first sight, it is the conformation rather than any facet of its technical or social significance that strikes the eye; perhaps the most decorative of tools are early dividers and calipers which, prior to their standardization, existed in seemingly endless variety. The great dividers used by the shipbuilder and architect for scribing and measuring timbers not only indicate building techniques (accession 61.548) but also document 17th- and early 18th-century decorative metalwork, as seen in figure 13. Well before the 17th century, artists and engravers recognized them as intriguing shapes to include in any potpourri of instruments, either in cartouches or the frontispieces of books (fig. 14).

The two pairs of cabinetmaker's dividers illustrated in figures 15 and 16 suggest significant changes in the design of a basic tool. The dividers shown in figure 15 are English and would seem to be of early 18th-century origin, perhaps even earlier. They are Renaissance in feeling with decorated legs and a

[8] *Reports by the Juries: Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851* (London, 1852), p. 485.

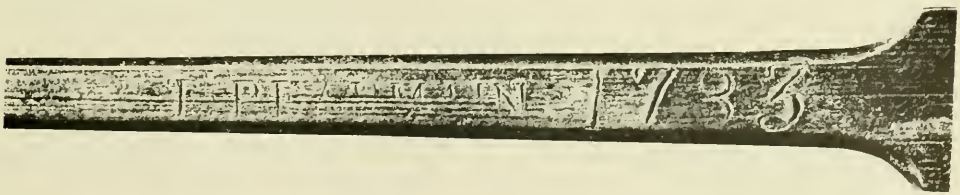


Figure 17.—1783: Detail of cabinetmaker's dividers showing name and date.

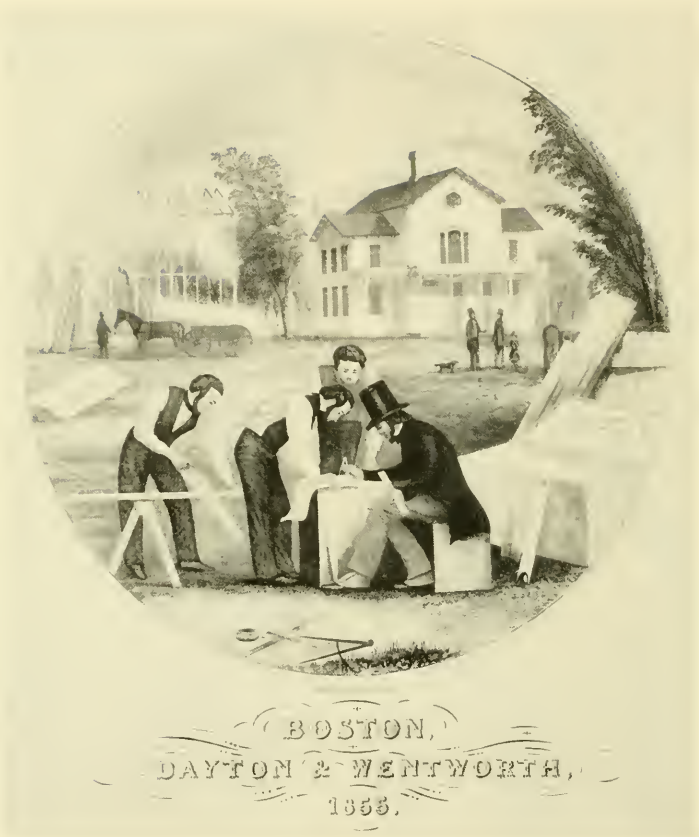


Figure 19.—1855: The frontispiece from Edward Shaw, *The Modern Architect* (Boston, 1855), shows the carpenter's dividers in the foreground unchanged in form from those illustrated in figure 18. Of further interest in Shaw's plate is the dress of the workmen and the balloon frame of the house under construction. (Smithsonian photo 49792-A.)

heart-shaped stop on the end of the slide-arm. In character, they are like the great dividers shown in figure 13: functional, but at the same time preserving in their decoration the features common to a wide variety of ironwork and wares beyond the realm of tools alone. The dividers pictured in figure 16 are a decided contrast. Dated 1783, they are strongly suggestive of Sheffield origin. Gone is the superfluous decoration; in its place is the strong, crisp line of a tool that has reached nearly the ultimate of function and manufacture, a device which both in general appearance and precise design is very modern in execution. Equally intriguing are the smaller, more slender dividers (accession 319557) of the 18th-century housebuilder as seen in figure 18, a form that changed very little, if at all, until after 1850—a fact confirmed by the frontispiece of Edward Shaw's *The Modern Architect*, published in Boston in 1855 (fig. 19). The double calipers of the woodturner (fig. 20) have by far the most appealing and ingenious design of all

such devices. Designed for convenience, few tools illustrate better the aesthetic of the purely functional than this pair of 19th-century American calipers.

Intended to establish proportion and to insure precision, it seems a natural consequence that dividers and calipers should in themselves reflect the same sense of balance and grace that they were designed to govern. Still, even the most prosaic examples of woodworking tools, completely divorced from the quasi-mathematical devices of measure and proportion, have this quality and can be admired solely as decorative objects. This is most evident in the three European bench planes illustrated in figures 21, 22, and 23: one Norwegian, dated 1704; one Dutch (accession 319562), dated 1756; and one German, dated 1809. The Norwegian and German examples, with their elaborately carved bodies and heart-shaped mouths, are typical of the type that Swedish and German colonists in America might have used in the 17th and 18th centuries. They are important for that reason. Also, all three exhibit elaboration found on other material survivals from these countries in their respective periods. For example, the incised rosette of the Dutch plane (fig. 22) is especially suggestive of the rosettes found on English and American furniture of the 1750's and 1760's, specifically on high chests.

Figure 20.—Early 19th century: The double calipers of the woodturner permitted double readings to be taken without changing the set of the tool. Inherent in this practical design is a gracefulness of line seldom surpassed. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49793-C.)

The decorative motifs that characterized European tools of the 17th and 18th centuries obscured technical improvement. By contrast, in England and America, tools gained distinction through the directness of their design. Following English patterns, tools of American make were straightforward. Only later, in new tool types, did they imitate the rococo flourish of their European predecessors. In America, as in England, the baroque for things functional seemingly had little appeal. This is particularly true of woodworking planes on which, unlike their continental cousins, embellishment is rarely seen. Exemplifying this tradition are three early 19th-century American planes: a plow, for cutting channels of various widths on board edges, marked "G. White, Philda" (fig. 24); a rabbet, for notching the margin of boards.

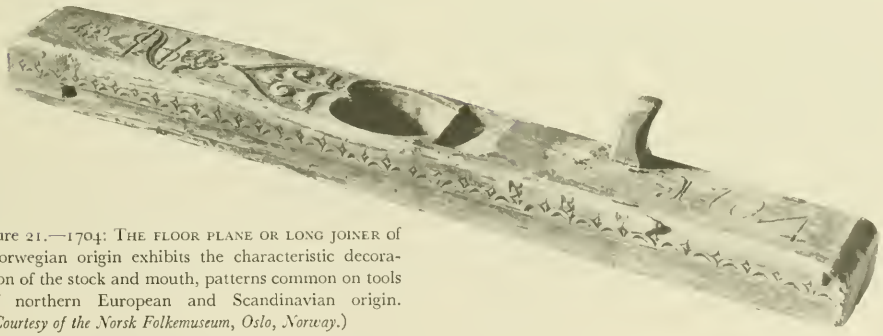


Figure 21.—1704: The floor plane or long joiner of Norwegian origin exhibits the characteristic decoration of the stock and mouth, patterns common on tools of northern European and Scandinavian origin. (*Courtesy of the Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo, Norway.*)

Figure 22.—1756: The highly elaborated stock and rosette-incised wedge of the smoothing plane recall the decoration on furniture of the period. The plane is of Dutch origin. (Smithsonian photo 49792-F.)

Figure 23.—1809: This bench plane of German origin is dated 1809. It is of a traditional form that persists to the present day. The planes pictured in figures 21, 22, and 23 are similar to the type brought to North America by non-English colonists. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49793-F.)

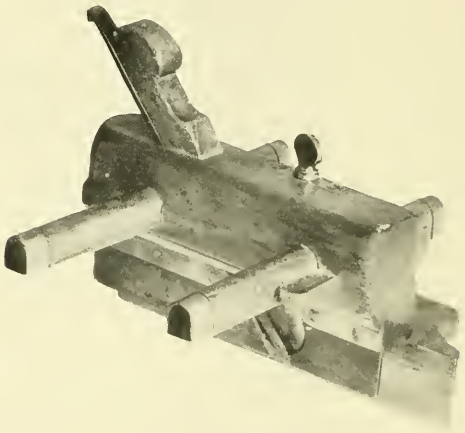


Figure 24.—About 1818: This plow plane, used to cut narrow channels on the edges of boards, was made by G. White of Philadelphia in the early 19th century. It is essentially the same tool depicted in the catalogues of Sheffield manufactures and in the plates from Martin and Nicholson. The pattern of the basic bench tools used in America consistently followed British design, at least until the last quarter of the 19th century. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49794-E.)

made by E. W. Carpenter of Lancaster, Pennsylvania (fig. 25); and a jack or foreplane, for rough surfacing (accession 61.547), made by A. Klock and dated 1818 as seen in figure 26.

The question of dating arises, since only the Klock piece is firmly fixed. How, for example, is the early 19th-century attribution arrived at for the planes inscribed White and Carpenter? First, the nature of the stamped name "G. White" is of proper character for the period. Second, G. White is listed in the Philadelphia city directories as a "plane-maker" between the years 1818 and 1820, working at the back of 5 Filbert Street and later at 34 Juliana Street. Third, internal evidence on the plane itself gives a clue. In this case, the hardware—rivets and ferrels—is similar if not identical to that found on firearms of the period, weapons whose dates of manufacture are known. The decorative molding on the fence of this plane is proper for the period;

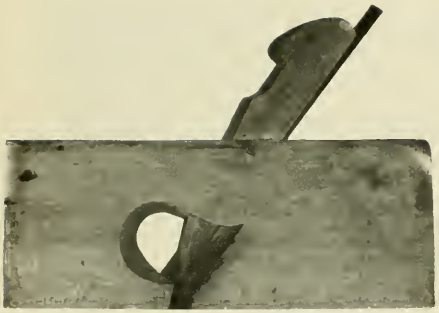


Figure 25.—1830–1840: The design of the rabbet plane, used to cut a groove of fixed width and depth on the edge of a board, was not improved upon in the 19th century. The carpenter's dependence on this tool lessened only after the perfection of multipurpose metallic planes that could be readily converted to cut a "rabbet." (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 494789-H).

Figure 26.—1818: The jack plane, used first by the carpenter for rapid surfacing, is distinguished primarily by the bezeled and slightly convex edge of its cutting iron. As with the plow and the rabbet, its shape is ubiquitous. Dated and marked A. Klock, this American example follows precisely those detailed in Sheffield pattern books. (Smithsonian photo 49794-C.)

Figure 27.—1830–1840: Detail of the rabbet plane (fig. 25) showing the characteristic stamp of E. W. Carpenter. (Smithsonian photo 49794-D.)

this is not a reliable guide, however, since similar moldings are retained throughout the century. Finally, the plane is equipped with a fence controlled by slide-arms, fixed with wedges and not by adjustable screw arms. After 1830, tools of high quality, such as White's, invariably have the screw arms. The rabbet plane, made by Carpenter, is traceable via another route, the U.S. Patent Office records. Carpenter, self-designated "toolmaker of Lancaster," submitted patents for the improvement of wood planes between 1831 and 1849. Examples of Carpenter's work, always stamped as shown in figure 27, survive, both dated and undated. There are several of his planes in the collections of the Bucks County Historical Society, and dated pieces are known in private collections.

Inherent in the bench planes is a feeling of motion, particularly in the plow and the rabbet where basic design alone conveys the idea that they were meant to move over fixed surfaces. Of the three examples, only the brass tippings and setscrew of the plow plane suggest any enrichment, and of course these were not intended for decoration; in later years, however, boxwood, fruitwood, and even ivory tips were added to the more expensive factory models. Also unintentional, but pleasing, is the distinctive throat of the rabbet plane—a design that developed to permit easy discharge of shavings, and one that mass manufacture did not destroy.

The divergence from European to an Anglo-American hand-tool design and the approximate date that it occurred can be suggested by a comparison of contemporary illustrations. The change in the wooden bench plane can be followed from the early 17th century through its standardization at the end of the 18th century. Examine first the planes as

(*Continued on page 202*)

Figure 28.—About 1631: The preceding illustrations emphasize the divergent appearance of European and Anglo-American tools. This, however, was not always the case. The woodworker's shop by the Dutch engraver Jan Van Vliet suggests the similarity between English and European tool types in the 17th century. Note in particular the planes, axe, brace, and auger as compared to Moxon. (Library of Congress, Division of Prints and Photographs.)

Figure 29.—1690: The cabinetmaker's shop from Elias Pozelius, *Orbus Pictus nach Zeichnugen der Susanna Maria Sandrart,* Nürnberg, 1690. (Library of Congress.)

Figure 30.—1568: The woodworker's shop from Hans Sachs, *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stande . . . mit Kunstreichen Figuren* [by Jost Amman], Frankfurt, 1568. (Library of Congress.)

(*Continued from page 199*)

drawn in the 1630's by the Dutchman Jan Van Vliet (fig. 28), an etcher of Rembrandt's school at Leiden, and also the examples illustrated by Porzelius (fig. 29) and by Jost Amman (fig. 30). Compare them to Moxon's plate (fig. 31) from the *Mechanick Exercises* (3rd ed., 1703) and to the splendid drawing of the bench plane from André-Jacob Roubo's *L'Art du menuisier*, published in 1769 (fig. 32). In all of them, the rounded handle, or tote, and the fore-horn appear, characteristics of both European and English planes of the period before 1750. The similarity ends with the mass production of hand tools from the shops of the English toolmaking centers, principally Sheffield. An illustration from a pattern and design book of the Castle Hill Works, Sheffield, dating from the last quarter of the 18th century (fig. 33), shows the achieved, familiar form of the bench planes, as well as other tools. The use of this form in America is

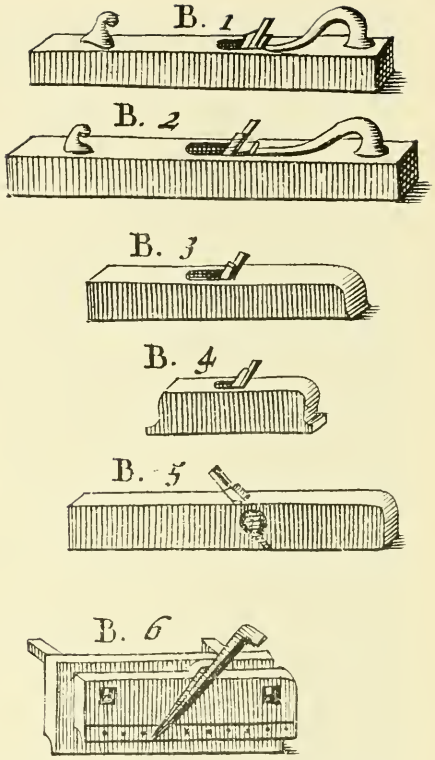


Figure 31.—1703: Detail of the bench planes from Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*.

readily documented in Lewis Miller's self-portrait while working at his trade in York, Pennsylvania, in 1810 (fig. 34) and by the shop sign carved by Isaac Fowle in 1820 for John Bradford (fig. 35). In each example, the bench plane clearly follows the English prototype.

The carpenter's brace is another instance of divergent design after a common origin. Refer again to Van Vliet's etching of the woodworker's shop (fig. 28), to the detail from Moxon (fig. 36), and from Roubo (fig. 37). All show the brace in a form familiar since the Middle Ages, a shape common to both delineators and craftsmen of the Continent and the British Isles. But, as the plane changed, so changed the brace.

(*Continued on page 209*)

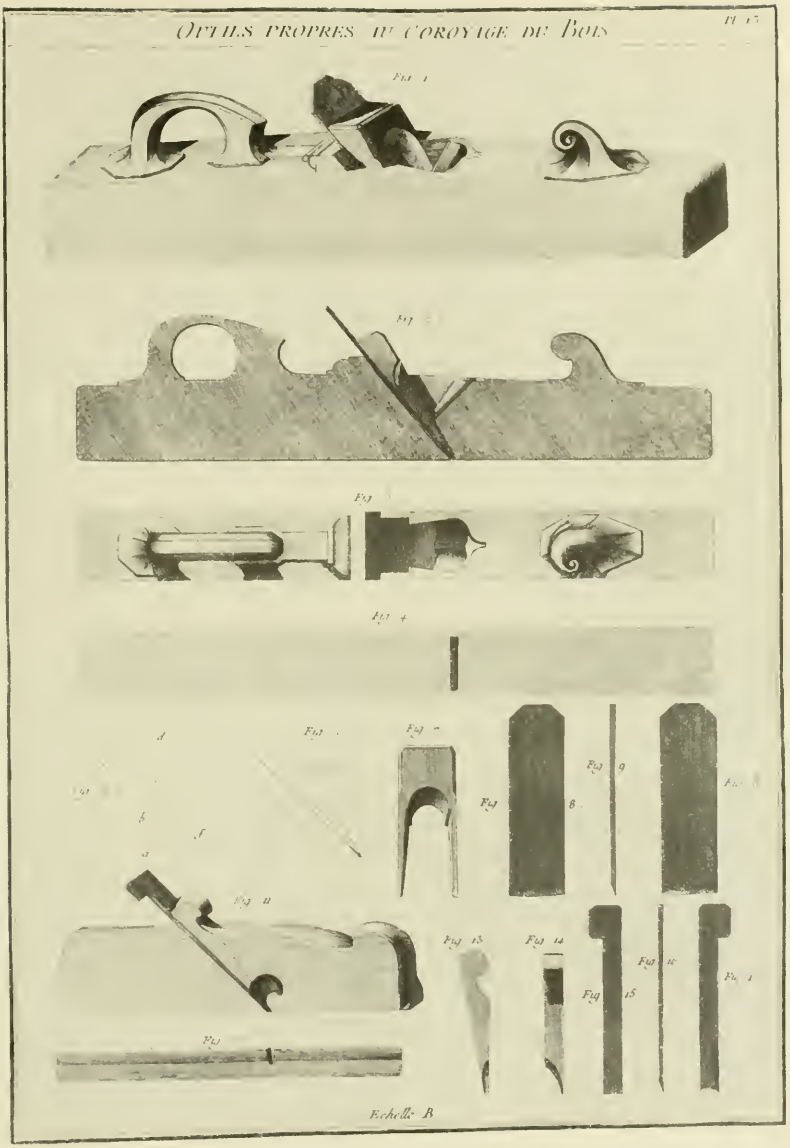


Figure 32.—1769: André-Jacob Roubo's precise rendering of the bench plane retains the essential features shown by Moxon—the rounded tote or handle and the curved forehorn. (André-Jacob Roubo, *L'Art du menuisier*, 1769.)

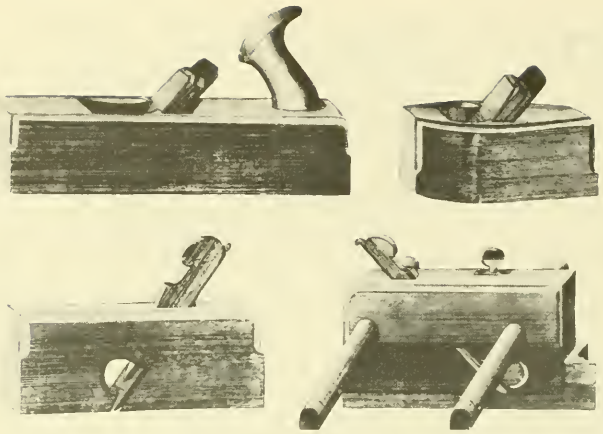


Figure 33.—Early 19th century: The bench plane illustrated in Roubo or Moxon is seldom seen in American tool collections. The bench planes, smoothing planes, rabbets, and plows universally resemble those shown in this illustration from the pattern book of the Castle Hill Works, Sheffield. (Book 87, Cutler and Company, Castle Hill Works, Sheffield. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*)

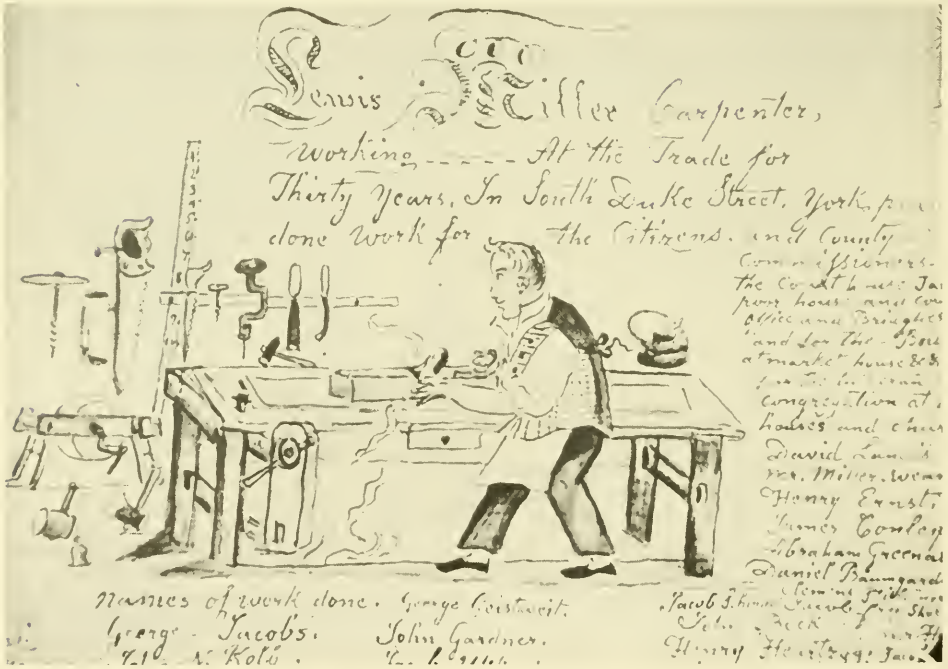

Lewis Miller Carpenter,
Working ----- At the Trade for
Thirty Years, In South Duke Street, York,
done Work for the Citizens. and County
Names of work done. George Geistweit.
George Jacobs. John Gardner.

Figure 34.—About 1810: Lewis Miller working at his bench in York, Pa. In a predominantly Pennsylvania-German settlement, the plane used by Miller conforms to the Sheffield type illustrated in the catalogue of the Castle Hill Works as shown in figure 33. (York County Historical Society, York, Pa.)

Figure 35.—1820: JOHN BRADFORD's shop sign carved by Isaac Fowle is a unique documentary of early 19th-century tool shapes and is in the Bostonian Society, Boston, Mass. (Index of American Design, The National Gallery, Washington, D.C.)

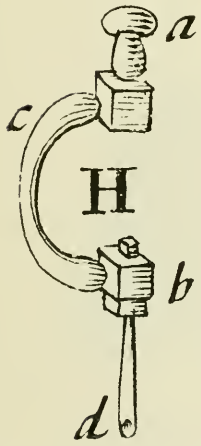


Figure 36.—1703: THE JOINER's brace and bit—a detail from Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises . . .*, London, 1703. (Library of Congress, Smithsonian photo 56635.)

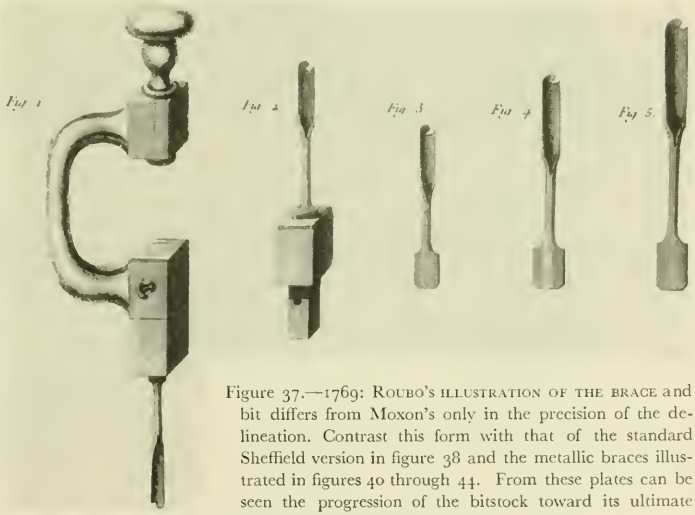


Figure 37.—1769: ROUBO's ILLUSTRATION OF THE BRACE and bit differs from Moxon's only in the precision of the delineation. Contrast this form with that of the standard Sheffield version in figure 38 and the metallic braces illustrated in figures 40 through 44. From these plates can be seen the progression of the bitstock toward its ultimate perfection in the late 19th century. (André-Jacob Roubo, *L'Art du menuisier*, 1769.)

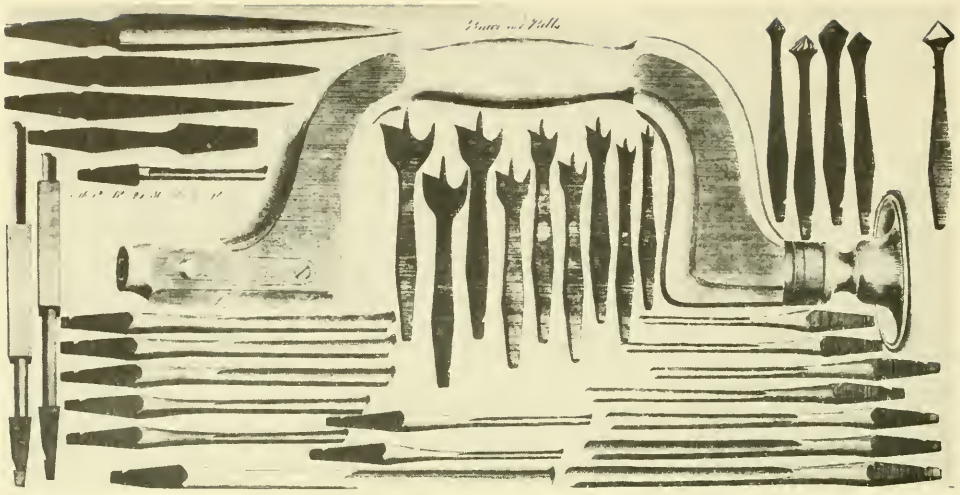


Figure 38.—Early 19th century: The mass-produced version of the wooden brace and bit took the form illustrated in Book 87 of Cutler's Castle Hill Works. (*Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*)

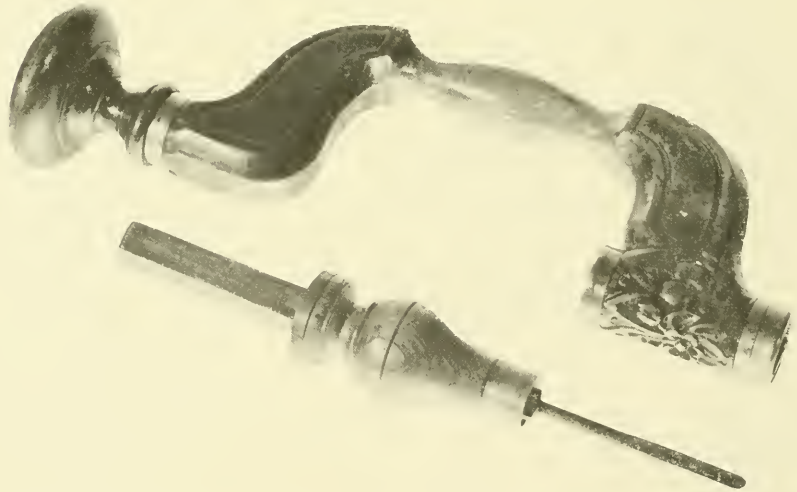


Figure 39.—18th century: The transitional form of the wooden brace and bit incorporated the overall shape of the mass-produced version but retained the archaic method of fastening the bit to the chuck. The tool is of Dutch origin and suggests the influence of Sheffield design on European tools. (Smithsonian photo 49792-E.)

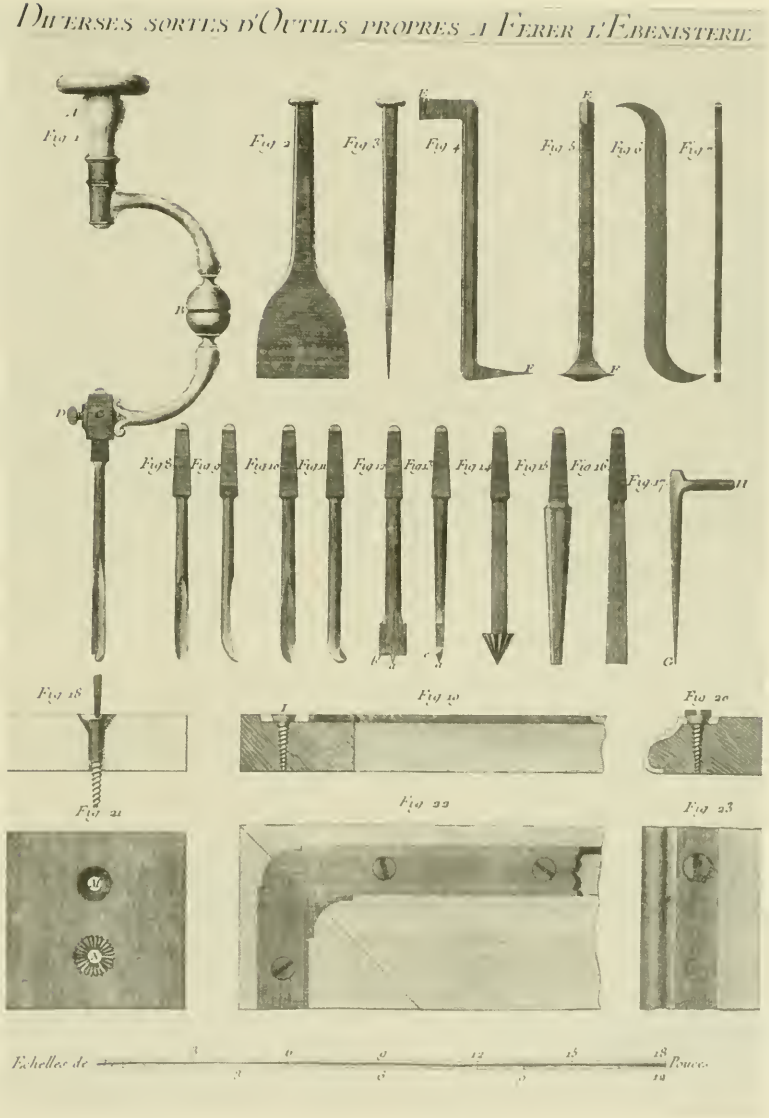


Figure 40.—1769: ROUBO ILLUSTRATED THE METALLIC BRACE and, in addition, suggested its use as a screwdriver. (André-Jacob Roubo, *L'Art du menuisier*, 1769.)

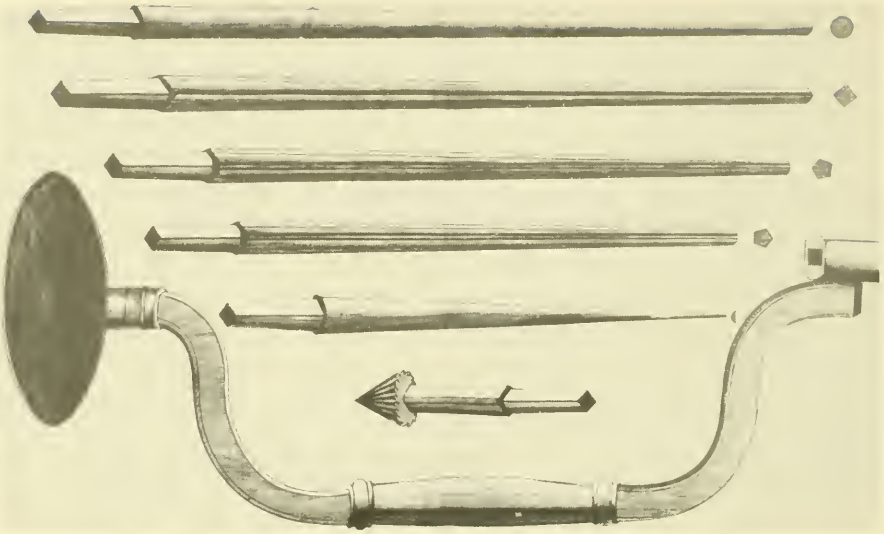


Figure 41.—About 1775: Ford, Whitmore and Brunton made and sold clockmaker's braces of metal with a sweep and shank that was imitated by American patentees in the 19th century. (Catalogue of Ford, Whitmore and Brunton, Birmingham, England. *Courtesy of the Birmingham Reference Library.*)

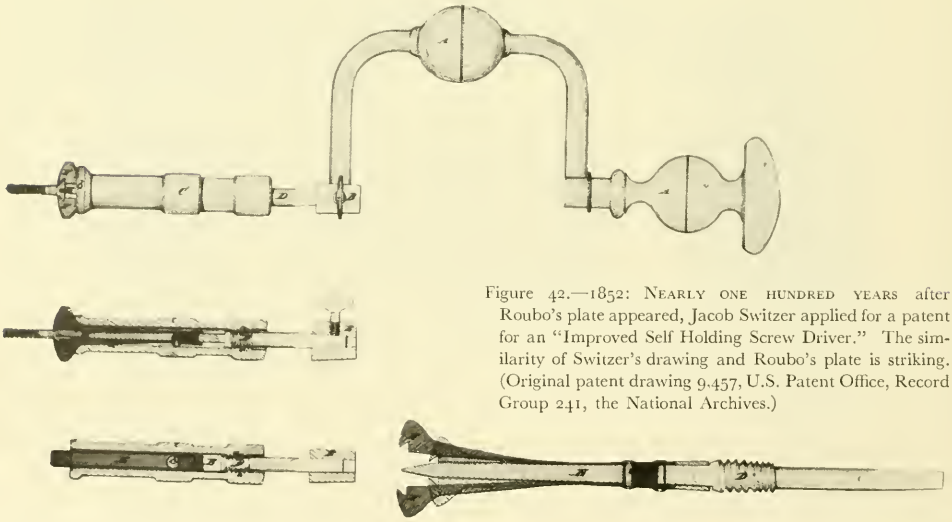


Figure 42.—1852: Nearly one hundred years after Roubo's plate appeared, Jacob Switzer applied for a patent for an "Improved Self Holding Screw Driver." The similarity of Switzer's drawing and Roubo's plate is striking. (Original patent drawing 9,457, U.S. Patent Office, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

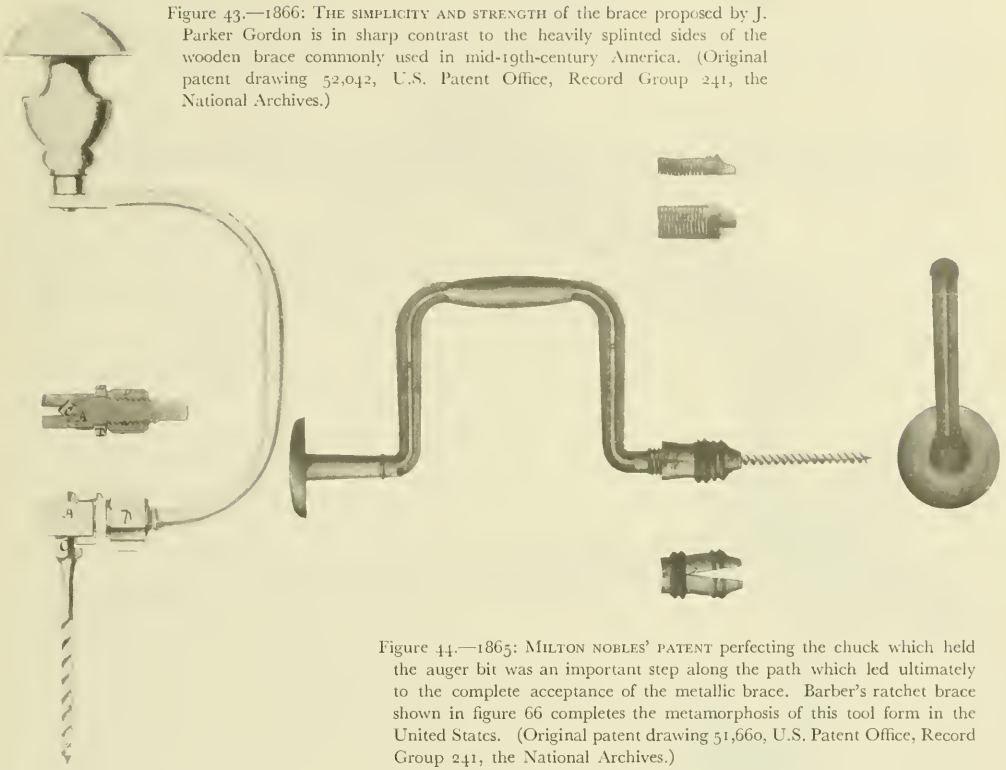


Figure 43.—1866: The simplicity and strength of the brace proposed by J. Parker Gordon is in sharp contrast to the heavily splinted sides of the wooden brace commonly used in mid-19th-century America. (Original patent drawing 52,042, U.S. Patent Office, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

Figure 44.—1865: Milton nobles' patent perfecting the chuck which held the auger bit was an important step along the path which led ultimately to the complete acceptance of the metallic brace. Barber's ratchet brace shown in figure 66 completes the metamorphosis of this tool form in the United States. (Original patent drawing 51,660, U.S. Patent Office, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

(*Continued from page 202*)

The standard form of this tool as it was used and produced in the United States in the 19th century can be seen in another plate from the catalogue of the Castle Hill Works at Sheffield (fig. 38). This English influence on American tool design is no surprise, since as early as 1634 William Wood in *New England's Prospect* suggested that colonists take to the New World "All manner of Ironwares, as all manner of nailes for houses . . . with Axes both broad and pitching . . . . All manners of Augers, piercing bits, Whip-saws, Two handed saws, Froes . . . , rings for Bettle heads, and Iron-wedges."

English tool design in the 18th century also influenced the continental toolmakers. This can be seen in figure 39 in a transitional-type bitstock (accession 319556) from the Low Countries. Adopting an English shape, but still preserving the ancient lever device for holding the bit in place, the piece with its grapevine embellishment is a marked contrast to the severely functional brass chucks on braces of English manufacture. No less a contrast are metallic versions of the brace. These begin to appear with some regularity in the U.S. patent specifications of the 1840's; their design is apparently derived from 18th-century precedents. Roubo (fig. 40) illustrated a metal bitstock in 1769, as did Ford, Whitmore & Brunton, makers of jewelers' and watchmakers' tools, of Birmingham, England, in their trade catalogue of 1775 (fig. 41). Each suggests a prototype of the patented forms of the 1840's. For example, in 1852, Jacob Switzer of Basil, Ohio, suggested, as had Roubo a hundred years earlier, that the bitstock be used as a screwdriver (fig. 42); but far more interesting than

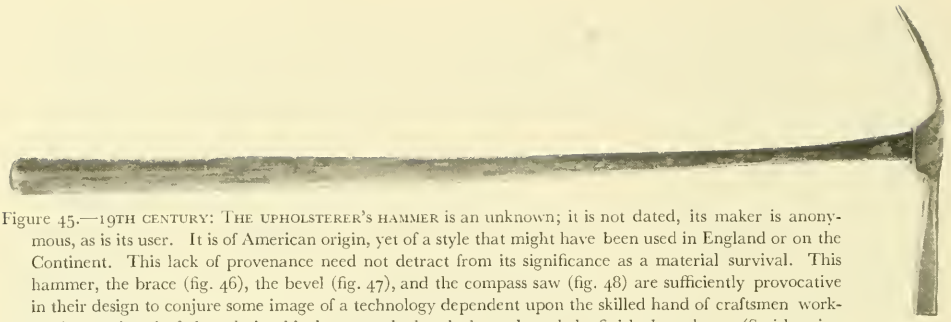


Figure 45.—19TH CENTURY: THE UPHOLSTERER'S HAMMER is an unknown; it is not dated, its maker is anonymous, as is its user. It is of American origin, yet of a style that might have been used in England or on the Continent. This lack of provenance need not detract from its significance as a material survival. This hammer, the brace (fig. 46), the bevel (fig. 47), and the compass saw (fig. 48) are sufficiently provocative in their design to conjure some image of a technology dependent upon the skilled hand of craftsmen working in wood and of the relationship between the hand, the tool, and the finished product. (Smithsonian photo 49793-A.)

Figure 46.—18TH CENTURY: THE BRACE AND BIT in its nonfactory form conforms to a general design pattern in which none of the components are ever precisely alike. This aspect of variety of detail—sophistication, crudeness, decorative qualities or the like—reflects something of the individuality of the toolmaker, a quality completely lost in the standardization of the carpenter's brace. (Smithsonian photo 49794-A.)

Switzer's idea was his delineation of the brace itself which he described as "an ordinary brace and bit stock" (U.S. pat. 9,457). The inference is that such a tool form was already a familiar one among the woodworking trades in the United States. Disregarding the screwdriver attachment, which is not without merit, Switzer's stock represents an accurate rendering of what was then a well-known form if not as yet a rival of the older wooden brace. Likewise, J. Parker Gordon's patent 52,042 of 1866 exemplifies the strengthening of a basic tool by the use of iron (fig. 43) and, as a result, the achievement of an even greater functionalism in design. The complete break with the medieval, however, is seen in a drawing submitted to the Commissioner of Patents in 1865 (pat. 51,660) by Milton V. Nobles of Rochester, New York.[9] Nobles' creation was of thoroughly modern design and appearance in which, unlike earlier types, the bit was held in place by a solid socket, split sleeve, and a tightening ring (fig. 44). In three centuries, three distinct design changes occurred in the carpenter's brace. First, about 1750, the so-called English or Sheffield bitstock appeared. This was followed in the very early 19th century by the reinforced English type whose sides were splinted by brass strips. Not only had the medieval form largely disappeared by the end of the 18th century, but so had the ancient lever-wedge method of fastening the bit in the stock, a device replaced by the pressure-spring button on the side of the chuck. Finally, in this evolution, came the metallic stock, not widely used in America until after the Civil War, that embodied in its design the influence of mass manufacture and in its several early

[9] U.S. patent specifications cited in this paragraph may be found at the U.S. Patent Office, Washington, D.C.

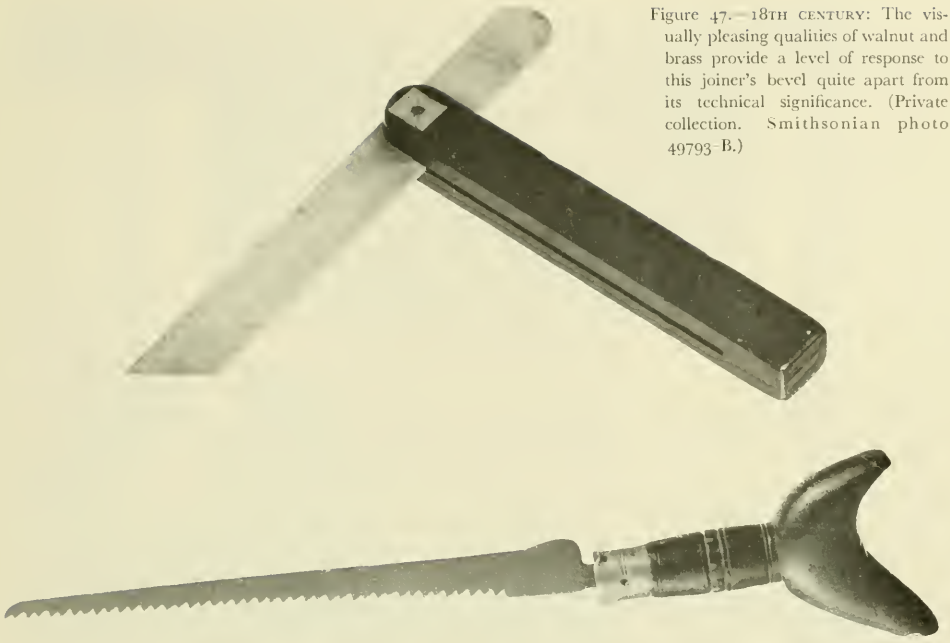


Figure 47.—18TH CENTURY: The visually pleasing qualities of walnut and brass provide a level of response to this joiner's bevel quite apart from its technical significance. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49793-B.)

Figure 48.—18TH CENTURY: THE HANDLE OF THE COMPASS SAW, characteristically Dutch in shape, is an outstanding example of a recurring functional design, one which varied according to the hand of the sawer. (Smithsonian photo 49789-C.)

versions all of the features of the modern brace and bit.

Henry Ward Beecher, impressed by the growing sophistication of the toolmakers, described the hand tool in a most realistic and objective manner as an "extension of a man's hand." The antiquarian, attuned to more subjective and romantic appraisals, will find this hardly sufficient. Look at the upholsterer's hammer (accession 61.35) seen in figure 45: there is no question that it is a response to a demanding task that required an efficient and not too forceful extension of the workman's hand. But there is another response to this implement: namely, the admiration for an unknown toolmaker who combined in an elementary striking tool a hammerhead of well-weighted proportion to be wielded gently through the medium of an extremely delicate handle. In short, here is an object about whose provenance one need know very little in order to enjoy it aesthetically. In a like manner, the 18th-century bitstock of Flemish origin (fig. 46), the English cabinetmaker's bevel of the same century (fig. 47), and the compass saw (accession 61.52, fig. 48) capture in their basic design something beyond the functional extension of the craftsman's hand. The slow curve of the bitstock, never identical from one early example to another, is lost in later factory-made versions; so too, with the coming of cheap steel, does the combination of wood (walnut) and brass used in the cabinetmaker's bevel slowly disappear; and, finally, in the custom-fitted pistol-like grip of the saw, there is an identity, in feeling at least, between craftsman and tool never quite achieved in later mass-produced versions.

Occasionally, ruling taste is reflected in the design of the carpenter's equipment. Notable is the "gentleman's tool chest" (fig. 49) advertised in the pattern

Figure 49.—Early 19th century: The designation "gentleman's tool chest" required a chest of "high-style" but necessitated no change in the tools it held. (Book 87, Cutler and Company, Castle Hill Works, Sheffield. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*)

Figure 50.—19TH CENTURY: THE SCREWDRIVER, which began to appear regularly on the woodworker's bench after 1800, did not share the long evolution and tradition of other Anglo-American tool designs. The screwdriver in its early versions frequently had a scalloped blade for no other purpose than decoration. (Smithsonian photo 49794.)

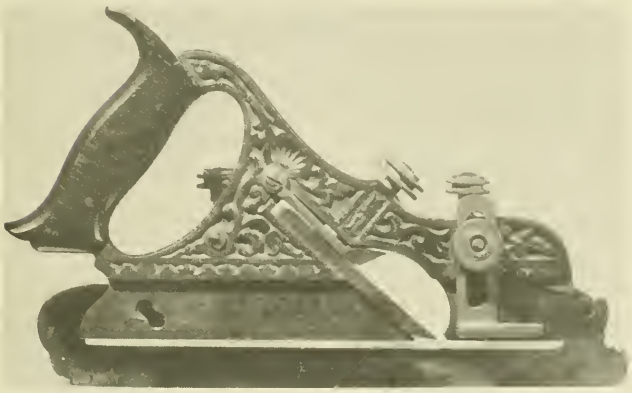


Figure 51.—1870: THE USE of a new material prompted a departure from the traditional in shape and encouraged surface elaboration. The tendency, however, was short lived and the mass-produced metallic plane rapidly achieved a purity of design as pleasing as its wooden predecessors. (Private collection. Smithsonian photo 49789.)

book of the Castle Hill Works. The bracket feet, brass pulls, and inlaid keyholes imitate the style of the domestic chest of drawers of the period 1790 to 1810—undoubtedly, features included by the manufacturer to appeal to a gentleman of refined taste. In contrast to this Sheffield product is the plate from Shaw's *The Modern Architect*. The concept of the builder-carpenter as a gentleman still prevails, although the idea in this American scene is conveyed in the mid-19th century through fashionable dress. The tools and in particular the tool chest reflect only the severest of functional lines (fig. 19, p. 196).

In deference to ruling taste, some tools lost for a time the clean lines that had long distinguished them. The screwdriver, simple in shape (accession 61.46) but in little demand until the 1840's, occasionally became most elaborate in its factory-made form (fig. 50) and departed noticeably from the unadorned style of traditional English and American tools. The scalloped blade, influenced by the rival styles rather than a technical need, seemed little related to the purpose of the tool.[10] No less archaic in decoration was the iron-bodied version of the plow plane (fig. 51). The Anglo-American tradition seems completely put aside. In its place is a most functional object, but one elaborately covered with a shell and vine motif! Patented in 1870 by Charles Miller and manufactured by the Stanley Rule and Level Company, this tool in its unadorned version is of a type that was much admired by the British experts at Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition in 1876. What prompted such superfluous decoration on the plow plane? Perhaps it was to appeal to the flood of newly arrived American craftsmen who might find in the rococo something reminiscent of the older tools they had known in Europe. Perhaps it was simply the transference to the tool itself of the decorative work then demanded of the wood craftsmen.

[10] In 1865 George Parr in his application for an improved screwdriver stated categorically that the scalloped blade served no purpose other than decoration. See U.S. patent 45,854, dated January 10, 1865.

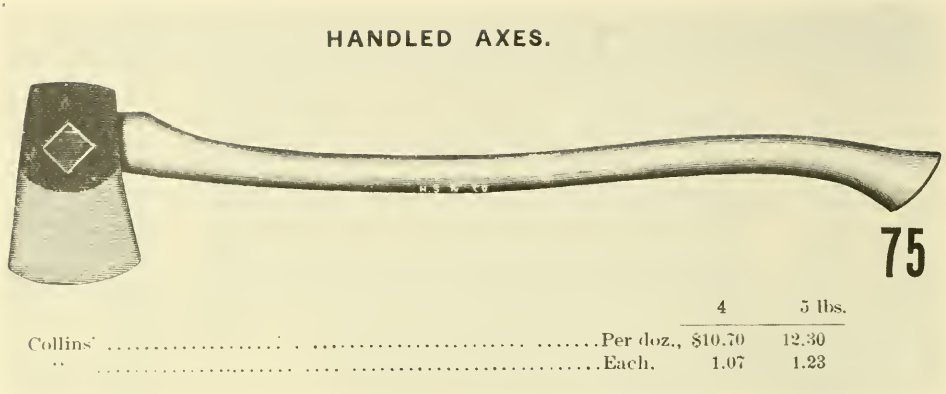


Figure 52.—19TH CENTURY: THE AMERICAN AXE WAS UNEXCELLED in design and ease of use. European observers praised it as distinctly American. At the Centennial Exhibition in 1876 Collins and Company of New York City was singled out as one of the outstanding manufacturers exhibiting these axes, a reputation that persisted. (*Tools for all Trades*, Hammacher, Schlemmer and Company, New York, 1896. Smithsonian photo 56625.)

No. 76.
"CENTENNIAL." Skew Back. Cast Steel. Warranted. Polished Apple Handle, 4 Improved Screws.
Inch. 16 18 20 22
Per dozen. $13 25 14 75 16 25 18 25
Inch. 24 26 28 30
Per dozen. $19 75 20 50 23 50 27 00

Figure 53.—1876: DISSTON AND SONS LONG CONTINUED to remind prospective buyers of the company's success at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition by retaining the "Centennial Saw, No. 76" as a brand name. (*Illustrated Catalogue*, Baldwin, Robbins and Company, Boston, 1894. Smithsonian photo 56627.)

Or was it mainly a compulsion to dress, with little effort, a lackluster material that seemed stark and cold to Victorians accustomed to the ornateness being achieved elsewhere with the jigsaw and wood? Whatever the cause, the result did not persist long as a guide to hand-tool design. Instead, the strong, plain lines that had evolved over two centuries won universal endorsement at the Centennial Exhibition. The prize tools reflected little of the ornateness apparent in the wares of most of the other exhibitors. American makers of edge tools exhibiting at the Centennial showed the world not only examples of quality but of attractiveness as well.

Change

American hand tools in 1876 did not achieve the popular acclaim accorded the Corliss engine, yet few products shown by American exhibitors were more highly praised by foreign experts. It seems justified to suggest that American edge tools displayed at the Centennial had reached their high point of development—a metamorphosis that began with the medieval European tool forms, moved through a period of reliance on English precedents, and ended, in the last quarter of the 19th century, with the production

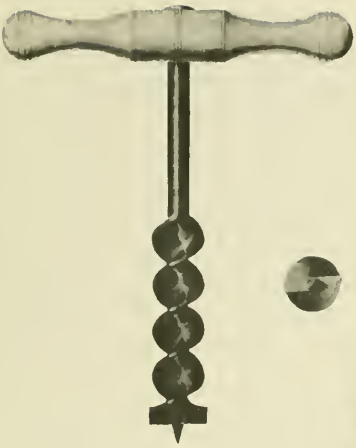


Figure 54.—1809: The introduction of the gimlet-pointed auger followed Ezra L'Hommedieu's patent of 1809. From this date until its general disuse in the early 20th century, the conformation of the tool remained unchanged, although the quality of steel and the precision of the twist steadily improved. (Wash drawing from the restored patent drawings awarded July 31, 1809, U.S. Patent Office, Record Group 241, the National Archives. Smithsonian photo 49790-A.)

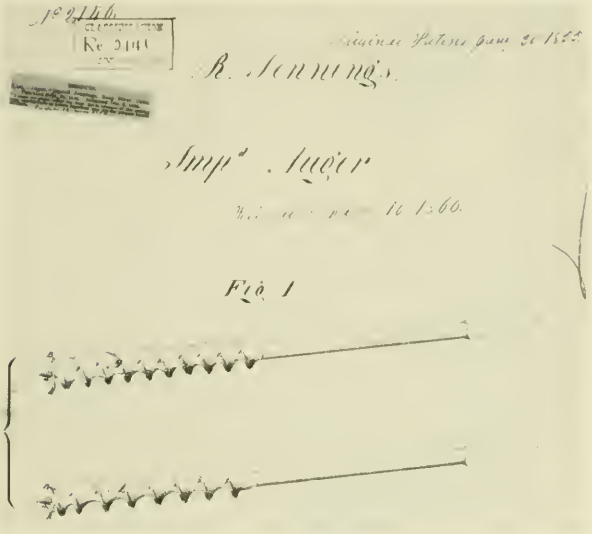


Figure 55.—1855: Russell Jennings' improved auger bits, first patented in 1855, received superior citation at the Philadelphia Centennial; in the years following, the trade name "Jennings" was seldom omitted from trade catalogues. (Original wash drawing, patent drawing submitted by R. Jennings, U.S. Patent Office, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

of American hand tools "occupying an enviable position before the world." [11]

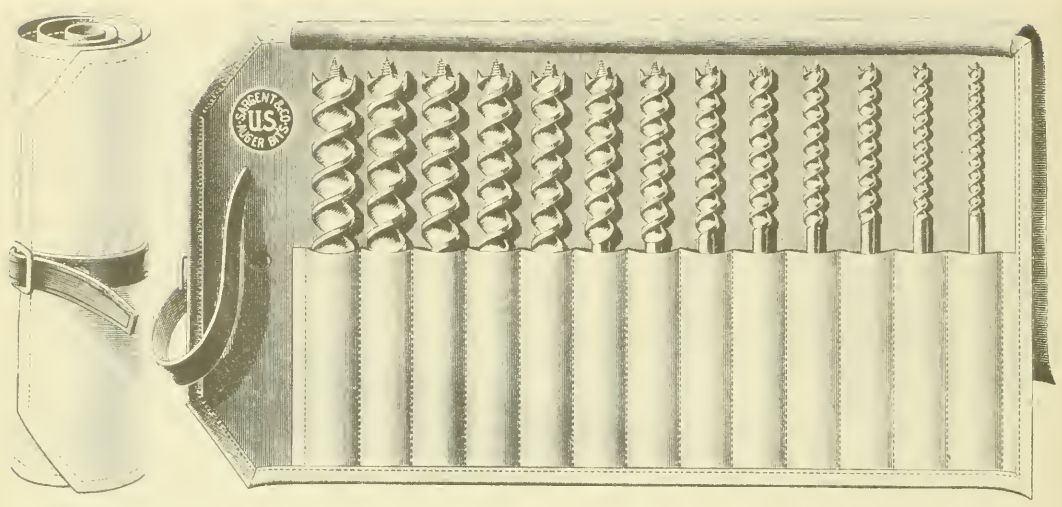
The tool most highly praised at Philadelphia was the American felling axe (fig. 52) "made out of a solid piece of cast steel" with the eye "punched out of the solid." When compared to other forms, the American axe was "more easily worked," and its shape permitted an easier withdrawal after striking.[12]

Sawmakers, too, were singled out for praise—in particular Disston & Sons (fig. 53) for "improvements in the form of the handles, and in the mode of fixing them to the saw." The Disston saw also embodied an improved blade shape which made it "lighter and more convenient by giving it a greater taper to the point." Sheffield saws, once supplied to most of the world, were not exhibited at Philadelphia, and the British expert lamented that our "monopoly remains with us no longer." [13]

[11] Francis A. Walker, ed., *United States Centennial Commission, International Exhibition, 1876, Reports and Awards, Group XI* (Philadelphia, 1877), p. 5.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Ibid., pp. 9–10.



Patented

"U. S." Auger Bits in Jennings' Protection" Rolls.

No. 455. Improved Lip and Spur.

32[1]/2 Quarters, 13 Bits (1 each, 4 to 16-16ths inclusive) . . per set, $5 50

No. 488. Jennings Pattern, Extension Lip.

32[1]/2 Quarters, 13 Bits (1 each, 4 to 16-16ths inclusive) . . per set, $6 25

The Roll is made of dark-colored pliable canvas cloth, nicely lined with blue canton flannel, having a receptacle for each Bit. It makes a very convenient way to keep the Bits safe from injury and a handy way for the Mechanic to carry them wherever needed. The Case rolled up with the Bits complete measures only 3 × 11 Inches, and it may be thrown into the kit of tools without injury to the Bits or to the other tools with which it may come in contact.

Figure 56.—1894: The persistence of "Jennings" as a trade name is suggested by the vignette from the "Illustrated Catalogue" of Baldwin, Robbins and Company, published in 1894. (Smithsonian photo 56628.)

Augers, essential to "the heavier branches of the building trade . . . [and] in the workshops of joiners, carpenters, cabinetmakers, turners, carvers, and by amateurs and others," were considered a "most important exhibit" at the Centennial. The auger had attained a perfection in "the accuracy of the twist, the various forms of the cutters, the quality of the steel, and fine finish of the twist and polish." The ancient pod or shell auger had nearly disappeared from use, to be replaced by "the screwed form of the tool" considerably refined by comparison to L'Hommedieu's prototype, patented in 1809 (fig. 54). Russell Jennings' patented auger bits (figs. 55–56) were cited for their "workmanship and quality," and, collectively, the Exhibition "fully established the reputation of American augers." [14] Likewise, makers of braces and bits were commended for the number of excellent examples shown. Some were a departure from the familiar design with "an expansive chuck for the bit," but others were simply elegant examples of the traditional brace, in wood, japanned and heavily reinforced with highly polished brass sidings. An example exhibited by E. Mills and Company, of Philadelphia, received a certification from the judges as being "of the best quality and finish" (fig. 57). The Mills brace, together with other award-winning tools of the company—drawknives, screwdrivers, and spokeshaves—is preserved in the collections of the

[14] Ibid., pp. 11–12.

Figure 57.—1876: JAPANNED AND SPLINTED WITH HEAVY BRASS, this brace was among the award-winning tools exhibited at the Centennial by E. Mills and Company of Philadelphia. (Smithsonian photo 49792 D.)

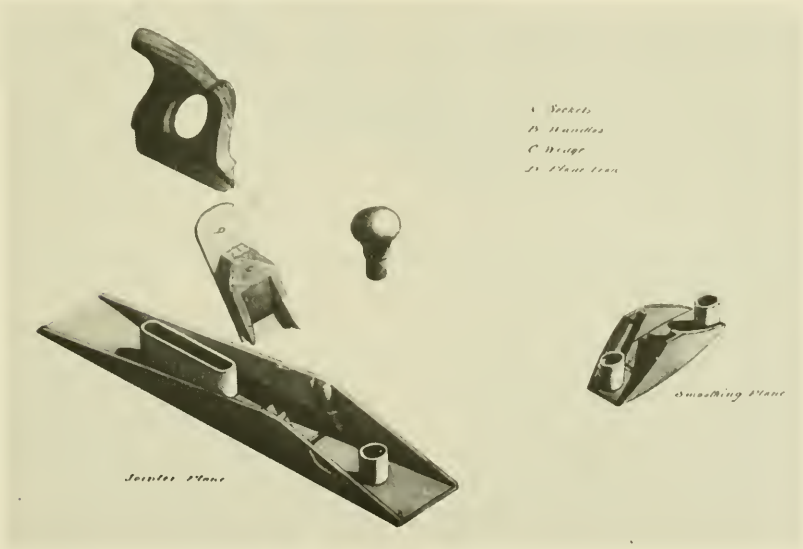


Figure 58.—1827: THE BENCH PLANES exhibited at Philadelphia in 1876 were a radical departure from the traditional. In 1827 H. Knowles patented an iron-bodied bench plane that portended a change in form that would witness a substitution of steel for wood in all critical areas of the tool's construction, and easy adjustment of the cutting edge by a setscrew, and an increased flexibility that allowed one plane to be used for several purposes. (Wash drawing from the restored patent drawings, August 24, 1827, U.S. Patent Office. Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

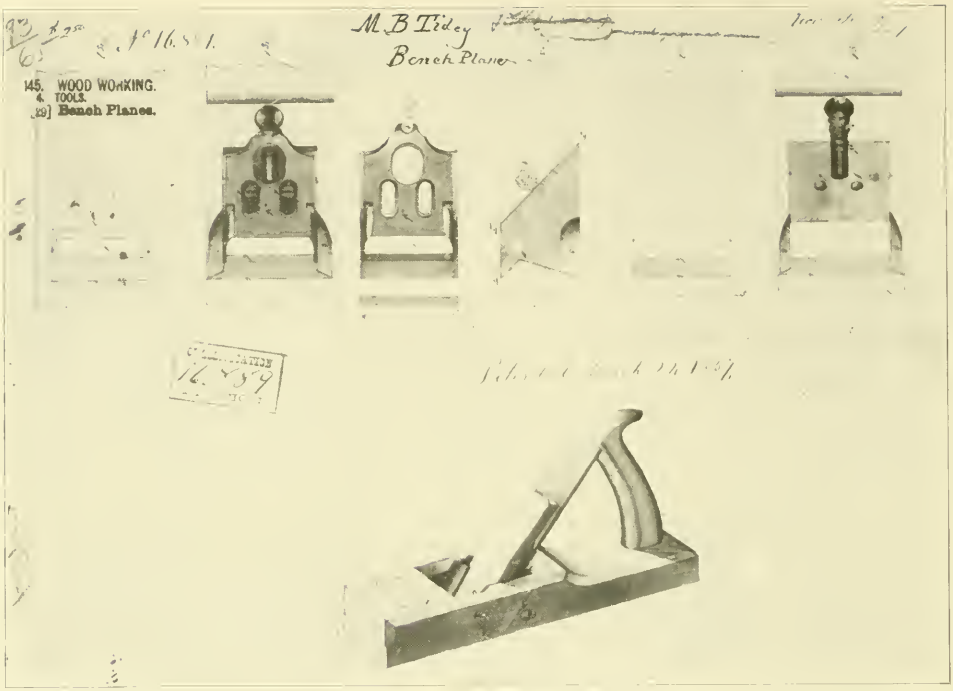


Figure 59.—1857: The addition of metallic parts to critical areas of wear as suggested by M. B. Tidey did not at first radically alter the design of the bench plane. (Wash drawing from U.S. Patent Office, March 24, 1857, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

Smithsonian Institution (accession 319326). Today as a group they confirm "the remarkably fine quality of . . . both iron and steel" that characterized the manufacture of American edge tools in the second half of the 19th century.[15]

It is the plane, however, that best exemplifies the progress of tool design. In 1876, American planemakers were enthusiastically credited with having achieved "an important change in the structure of the tool." [16] Although change had been suggested by American patentees as early as the 1820's, mass production lagged until after the Civil War, and the use of this new tool form was not widespread outside of the United States. Hazard Knowles of Colchester, Connecticut, in 1827, patented a plane stock of cast iron which in many respects was a prototype of later Centennial models (fig. 58).[17] It is evident, even in its earliest manifestation, that the quest for improvement of the bench plane did not alter its sound design. In 1857, M. B. Tidey (fig. 59) listed several of the goals that motivated planemakers:

> First to simplify the manufacturing of planes; second to render them more durable; third to retain a uniform mouth; fourth to obviate their clogging; and fifth the retention of the essential part of the plane when the stock is worn out.[18]

[15] Ibid., pp. 14, 44, 5.

[16] Ibid., p. 13.

[17] Restored patent 4,859X, August 24, 1827, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[18] U.S. pat. 16,889, U.S. Patent Office, Washington, D.C. The numbered specifications that follow may be found in the same place.

By far the greatest number of patents was concerned with perfecting an adjustable plane iron and methods of constructing the sole of a plane so that it would always be "true." Obviously the use of metal rather than the older medium, wood, was a natural step, but in the process of changing from the wood to the iron-bodied bench plane there were many transitional suggestions that combined both materials. Seth Howes of South Chatham, Massachusetts, in U.S. patent 37,694, specified:

> This invention relates to an improvement in that class of planes which are commonly termed "bench-planes," comprising the foreplane, smoothing plane, jack plane, jointer, &c.
>
> The invention consists in a novel and improved mode of adjusting the plane-iron to regulate the depth of the cut of the same, in connection with an adjustable cap, all being constructed and arranged in such a manner that the plane-iron may be "set" with the greatest facility and firmly retained in position by the adjustment simply of the cap to the plane-iron, after the latter is set, and the cap also rendered capable of being adjusted to compensate for the wear of the "sole" or face of the plane stock.

The stock of Howes' plane was wood combined with metal plates, caps, and screws. Thomas Worrall of Lowell was issued patent 17,657 for a plane based on the same general principle (fig. 60). Worrall claimed in his specifications of June 23, 1857:

> the improved manufacture of [the] carpenter's bench plane or jointer as made with its handle, its wooden stock to which said handle is affixed, and a separate metallic cutter holder, and cutter clamping devices arranged together substantially as specified.

Finally patentees throughout the 19th century, faced with an increasing proliferation of tool types, frequently sought to perfect multipurpose implements of a type best represented later by the ubiquitous Stanley plane. The evolution of the all-purpose idea, which is incidentally not peculiar to hand tools alone, can be seen from random statements selected from U.S. patents for the improvement of bench planes. In 1864 Stephen Williams in the specifications of his patent 43,360 stated:

> I denominate my improvement the "universal smoothing plane," because it belongs to that variety of planes in which the face is made changeable, so that it may be conveniently adapted to the planing of curved as well as straight surfaces. By the use of my improvement surfaces that are convex, concave, or straight may be easily worked, the face of the tool being readily changed from one form to another to suit the surface to which it is to be applied.

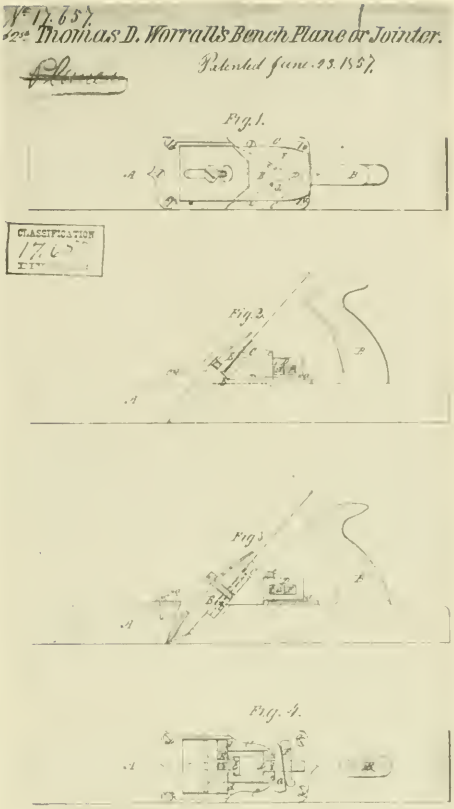


Figure 60.—1857: In a variety of arrangements, the addition of metal plates, caps, and screws at the mouth of the plane, as shown in Thomas Worrall's drawing, proved a transitional device that preserved the ancient shape of the tool and slowed the introduction of bench planes made entirely of iron. (Wash drawing from U.S. Patent Office, June 23, 1857, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

The announced object of Theodore Duval's improved grooving plane (pat. 97,177) was "to produce in one tool all that is required to form grooves of several different widths." None was more appealing than Daniel D. Whitker's saw-rabbet plane (pat. 52,478)

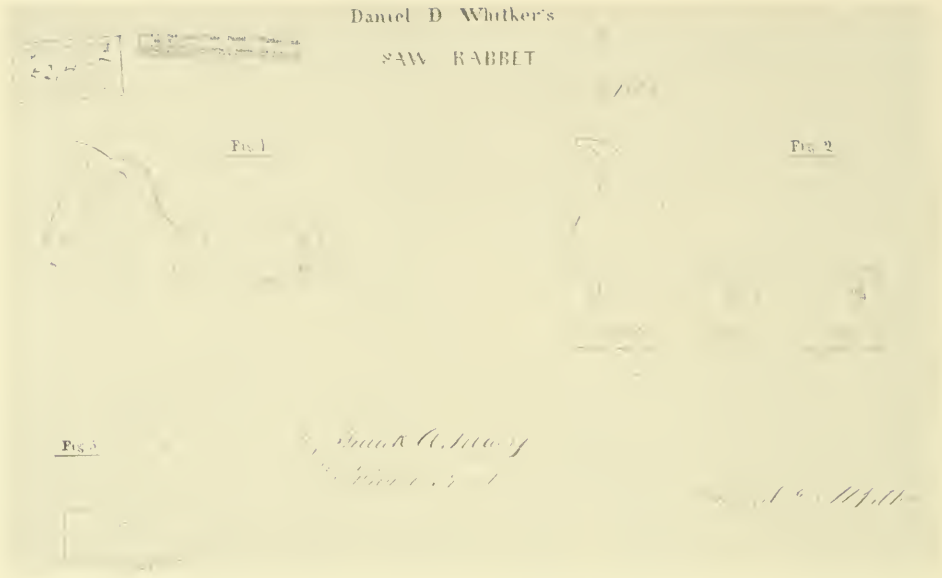


Figure 61.—1865: Not all multipurpose innovations resulted from the use of new materials. Daniel D. Whitker patented a combination saw and rabbet plane little different from one illustrated by André-Jacob Roubo in his *L'Art du menuisier* in 1769. (Wash drawing from U.S. Patent Office, October 4, 1865, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

which combined "an adjustable saw with an adjustable fence or gage, both being attached to a stock with handle similar to a plane, forming together a tool combining the properties of the joiner's plow and fillister" (fig. 61). Nor was Whitker's idea simply a drawing-board exercise. It was produced commercially and was well advertised, as seen in the circular reproduced in figure 62.

In sum, these ideas produced a major break with the traditional shape of the bench plane. William Foster in 1843 (pat. 3,355), Birdsill Holly in 1852 (pat. 9,094), and W. S. Loughborough in 1859 (pat. 23,928) are particularly good examples of the radical departure from the wooden block. And, in the period after the Civil War, C. G. Miller (discussed on p. 213 and in fig. 63), B. A. Blandin (fig. 64), and Russell Phillips (pat. 106,868) patented multipurpose metallic bench planes of excellent design. It should be pointed out that the patentees mentioned above represent only a few of the great number that tried to improve the plane. Only the trend of change is suggested by the descriptions and illustrations presented here. The cumulative effect awaited a showcase, and the planemakers found it at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 held in Philadelphia.

The impact of these new planes at the Exhibition caused some retrospection among the judges:

> The planes manufactured in Great Britain and in other countries fifty years ago were formed of best beechwood; the plane irons were of steel and iron welded together; the jointer plane, about 21 inches long, was a bulky tool; the jack and hand planes were of the same materials. Very little change has been made upon the plane in Great Britain, unless in the superior workmanship and higher quality of the plane iron.[19]

The solid wood-block plane, varying from country to country only in the structure of its handles and body decoration, had preserved its integrity of design

[19] Walker, ed., *Reports and Awards*, group 15, p. 13.

INVISIBLE
RUBBER WEATHER STRIPS,
FOR DOORS AND WINDOWS.
(WHITKER'S PATENT.)
Price, No. 1, 6 Cts.
Price, No. 2, 7 Cts.
Price, No. 3, 8 Cts.
Price, Saw, Plane, $1.50
Price, Bound, $1 00
It is entirely out of sight and does not interfere with the free action of either
DOOR OR WINDOW,
and effectually excludes all Snow Rain, Wind and Dust.
It stops all rattle of the Windows and lessens the noise from the street.
It can be applied to any Door or Window without injury, as no nails or screws are used.
It is the cheapest and most durable STRIP in use, and
CANNOT WARP OR SPLIT,
as no moulding is used.
A house can be
Warmed with one-half the Fuel.
These STRIPS are now in use in many of the best Public Buildings in the country, such as the
Astor House,
U. S. Custom House,
U. S. Express Office,
&c., &c.,
and hundreds of the finest private residences in the city and country, and the universal expression is they would rather pay two prices for the INVISIBLE in preference to having any of the Mould-ing Strips as a gift.
State and County Rights for Sale.
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208 BROADWAY, Room No. 7.
Chapin & Simpson, Printers, 14 Ann street, N. Y.

Figure 62.—About 1865: The progress of an idea from an 18th-century encyclopedia through an American patentee to commercial reality can be seen in this flier advertising Whitker's saw-rabbet. (Smithsonian Institution Library. Smithsonian photo 56629.)

since the Middle Ages. At the Centennial, however, only a few examples of the old-type plane were exhibited. A new shape dominated the cases. Designated by foreign observers as the American plane, it received extended comment. Here was a tool

> constructed with a skeleton iron body, having a curved wooden handle; the plane iron is of the finest cast-steel; the cover is fitted with an ingenious trigger at the top, which, with a screw below the iron, admits of the plane iron being removed for sharpening and setting without the aid of the hammer, and with the greatest ease. The extensive varieties of plane iron in use are fitted for every requirement; a very ingenious arrangement is applied to the tools for planing the insides of circles or other curved works, such as stair-rails, etc. The sole of the plane is formed of a plate of tempered steel about the thickness of a handsaw, according to the length required, and this plate is adapted to the curve, and is securely fixed at each end. With this tool the work is not only done better but in less time than formerly. In some exhibits the face of the plane was made of beech or of other hard wood, secured by screws to the stock, and the tool becomes a hybrid, all other parts remaining the same as in the iron plane.[20]

The popularity of Bailey's patented planes (fig. 65), the type so praised above, was by no means transitory. In 1884 the Boston firm of Goodnow & Wightman, "Importers, Manufacturers and Dealers in Tools of all kinds," illustrated the several planes just described and assured prospective buyers that

> These tools meet with universal approbation from the best Mechanics. For beauty of style and finish they are unequalled, and the great convenience in operating renders them the cheapest Planes in use; they are SELF-ADJUSTING in every respect; and each part being made INTERCHANGEABLE, can be replaced at a trifling expense.[21]

By 1900 an advertisement for Bailey's planes published in the catalogue of another Boston firm, Chandler and Farquhar, indicated that "over 900,000" had already been sold.[22]

Other mass-produced edge tools—axes, adzes, braces and bits, augers, saws, and chisels—illustrated in the trade literature of the toolmakers became, as had the iron-bodied bench plane, standard forms. In the last quarter of the 19th century the tool catalogue replaced Moxon, Duhamel, Diderot, and the builders' manuals as the primary source for the study and identification of hand tools. The Centennial had called attention to the superiority of certain American tools and toolmakers. The result was that until the end of the century, trade literature faithfully drummed the products that had proven such "an attraction to the numerous artisans who visited the Centennial Exhibition from the United States and other countries."[23]

Collins and Company of New York City had been given commendation for the excellence of their axes; through the end of the century, Collins' brand felling

---

[20] Ibid.

[21] *Tools* (Boston, 1884), p. 54 [in the Smithsonian Institution Library].

[22] *Tools and Supplies* (June 1900), no. 85 [in the Smithsonian Institution Library].

[23] Walker, op. cit. (footnote 19), p. 14.

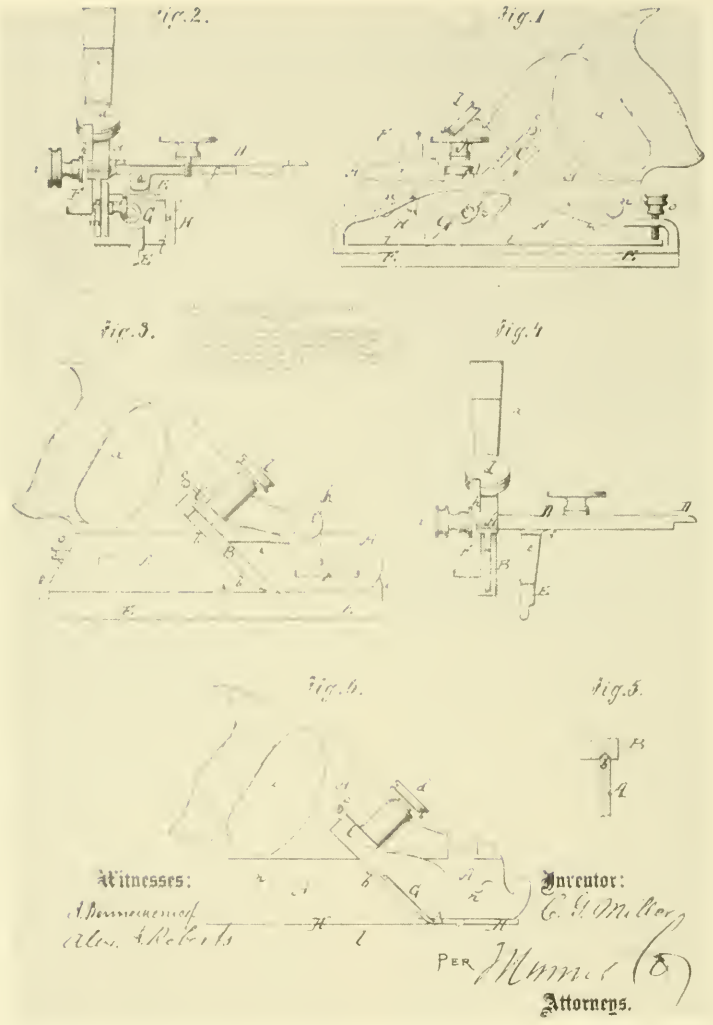


Figure 63.—1870: The metallic version of the plow plane later produced by Stanley and Company was patented by [Charles] G. Miller as a tool readily "convertible into a grooving, rabbeting, or smoothing plane." In production this multipurpose plow gained an elaborate decoration (fig. 51) nowhere suggested in Miller's specification. (Wash drawing from U.S. Patent Office, June 28, 1870, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

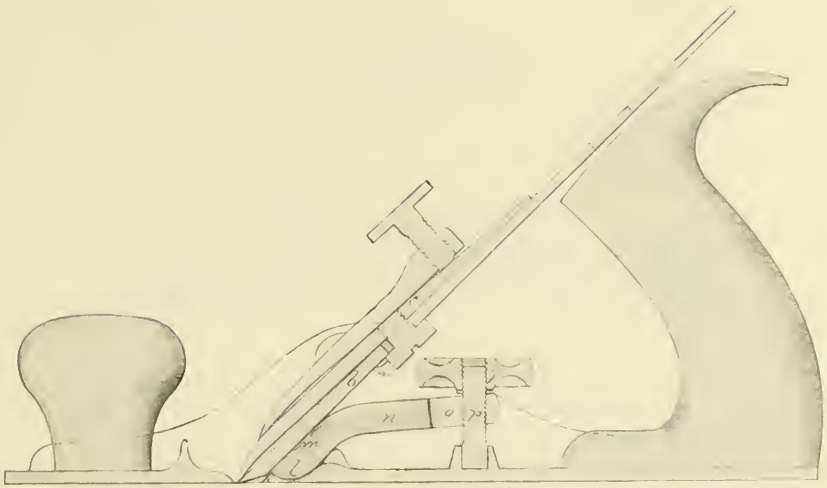


Figure 64.—1867: The drawing accompanying B. A. Blandin's specification for an "Improvement in Bench Planes" retained only the familiarly shaped handle or tote of the traditional wood-bodied plane. This new shape rapidly became the standard form of the tool with later variations chiefly related to the adjustability of the plane-iron and sole. (Wash drawing from U.S. Patent Office, May 7, 1867, Record Group 241, the National Archives.)

axes, broad axes, and adzes were standard items, as witness Hammacher, Schlemmer and Company's catalogue of 1896.[24] Disston saws were a byword, and the impact of their exhibit at Philadelphia was still strong, as judged from Baldwin, Robbins' catalogue of 1894. Highly recommended was the Disston no. 76, the "Centennial" handsaw with its "skew back" and "apple handle." Jennings' patented auger bits were likewise standard fare in nearly every tool catalogue.[25] So were bench planes manufactured by companies that had been cited at Philadelphia for the excellence of their product; namely, The Metallic Plane Company, Auburn, New York; The Middletown Tool Company, Middletown, Connecticut; Bailey, Leonard, and Company, Hartford; and The Sandusky Tool Company, Sandusky, Ohio.[26]

An excellent indication of the persistence of the Centennial influence, and of the tool catalogue as source material, is seen in Chandler and Farquhar's illustrated pamphlet of 1900. Their advertisement for Barber's improved ratchet brace (fig. 66), a tool much admired by the Centennial judges, amply illustrates the evolution of design of a basic implement present in American society since the first years of settlement. The Barber brace represents the ultimate sophistication of a tool, achieved through an expanded industrial technology rather than by an extended or newly found use for the device itself. It is a prime example of the transition of a tool from Moxon to its perfected form in the 20th century:

> These Braces possess the following points of superiority: The Sweep is made from Steel; the Jaws are forged from Steel; the Wood Handle has brass rings inserted in each end so it cannot split off; the Chuck has a hardened Steel antifriction washer between the two sockets, thus reducing the wear. The Head has a bearing of steel balls, running on hard steel plates, so no wear can take place, as the friction is reduced to the minimum. The Brace is heavily nickel-plated and warranted in every particular. We endeavor to make these goods as nearly

[24] *Tools for All Trades* (New York, 1896), item 75 [in the Smithsonian Institution Library].

[25] See *Baldwin, Robbins & Co.: Illustrated Catalogue* (Boston, 1894), pp. 954, 993 [in the Smithsonian Institution Library].

[26] Walker, op. cit. (footnote 19), p. 14.

CHANDLER & FARQUHAR, BOSTON, MASS

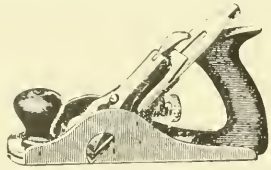
Bailey's Patent Adjustable Planes.

OVER 900,000 ALREADY SOLD.

Iron Planes.

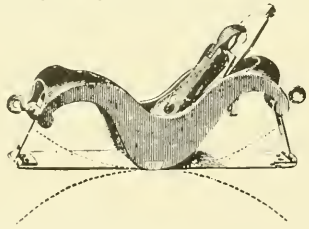
These Planes meet with universal approbation from the best Mechanics, as their extensive sale abundantly testifies. For beauty of style and finish, they are unequaled, and the superior methods for adjusting them readily in all their parts, render them economical to the owner.

No.			Each.
1.	Smooth Plane,	5½ inches in Length, 1¼ inch Cutter	$1.13
2.	Smooth Plane,	7 inches in Length, 1⅝ inch Cutter	1.38
3.	Smooth Plane,	8 inches in Length, 1¾ inch Cutter	1.50
4.	Smooth Plane,	9 inches in Length, 2 inch Cutter	1.62
4½.	Smooth Plane,	10 inches in Length, 2⅜ inch Cutter	1.87
5.	Jack Plane,	14 inches in Length, 2 inch Cutter	1.87
6.	Fore Plane,	18 inches in Length, 2⅜ inch Cutter	2.13
7.	Jointer Plane,	22 inches in Length, 2⅜ inch Cutter	2.75
8.	Jointer Plane,	24 inches in Length, 2⅝ inch Cutter	3.25
9.	Block Plane,	10 inches in Length, 2 inch Cutter	3.00



10½.	Carriage Makers' Rabbet Plane,	9 inches Length, 2⅛ inch Cutter.	1.87
10.	Carriage Makers' Rabbet Plane,	14 inches Length, 2⅛ inch Cutter.	2.25
11.	Belt Makers' Plane, 2⅜ inch Cutter		1.50

Bailey's Adjustable Circular Plane.



No. 13. Circular Plane, 1¾ inch Cutter 2.00

This Plane has a Flexible Steel Face, and by means of the thumb screws at each end of the Stock, can be easily adapted to plane circular work—either concave or convex.

Figure 65.—1900: American planemakers had been cited at the Philadelphia Centennial as having introduced a dramatic change in the nature of the tool. Although wood-bodied planes continued to be used, they were outdated and in fact anachronistic by the close of the 19th century. From the 1870's forward, it was the iron-bodied plane, most frequently Bailey's, that enlivened the trade literature. (Catalogue of Chandler and Farquhar, Boston, 1900. Smithsonian photo 55798.)

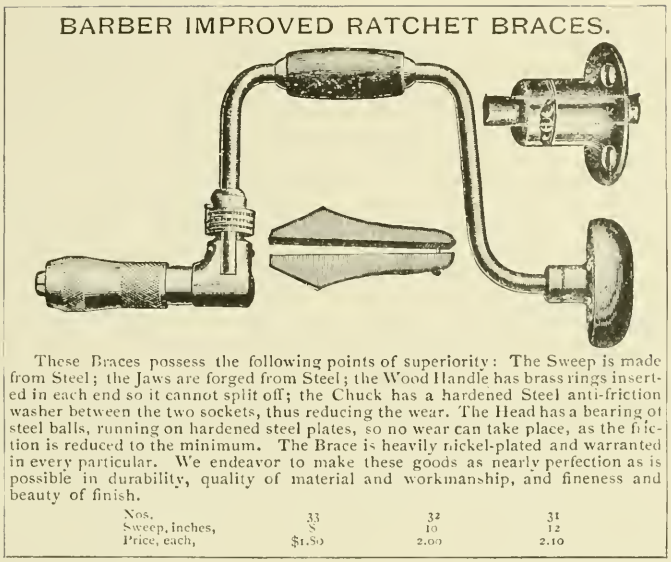

BARBER IMPROVED RATCHET BRACES.
These Braces possess the following points of superiority: The Sweep is made from Steel; the Jaws are forged from Steel; the Wood Handle has brass rings inserted in each end so it cannot split off; the Chuck has a hardened Steel anti-friction washer between the two sockets, thus reducing the wear. The Head has a bearing of steel balls, running on hardened steel plates, so no wear can take place, as the friction is reduced to the minimum. The Brace is heavily nickel-plated and warranted in every particular. We endeavor to make these goods as nearly perfection as is possible in durability, quality of material and workmanship, and fineness and beauty of finish.
Nos. 33 32 31
Sweep, inches, 8 10 12
Price, each, $1.80 2.00 2.10

Figure 66.—1900: Few tools suggest more clearly the influence of modern industrial society upon the design and construction of traditional implements than Barber's ratchet brace. It is not without interest that as the tools of the wood craftsman became crisply efficient, his work declined correspondingly in individuality and character. The brace and the plane, as followed from Moxon through the trade literature of the late 19th century, achieved perfection in form and operation at a time when their basic functions had been usurped by machines. (Catalogue of Chandler and Farquhar, Boston, 1900. Smithsonian photo 56626.)

perfection as is possible in durability, quality of material and workmanship, and fineness and beauty of finish.[27]

The description of Barber's brace documents a major technical change: wood to steel, leather washers to ball bearings, and natural patina to nickel plate. It is also an explanation for the appearance and shape of craftmen's tools, either hand forged or mass produced. In each case, the sought-after result in the form of a finished product has been an implement of "fineness and beauty." This quest motivated three centuries of toolmakers and brought vitality to hand-tool design. Moxon had advised:

> He that will a good Edge win,
> Must Forge thick and Grind thin.[28]

If heeded, the result would be an edge tool that assured its owner "ease and delight."[29] Throughout the period considered here, the most praiseworthy remarks made about edge tools were variations of either "unsurpassed in quality, finish, and beauty of style" or, more simply, commendation for "excellent design and superior workmanship."[30] The hand tool thus provoked the same value words in the 19th as in the 17th century.

The aesthetics of industrial art, whether propounded by Moxon or by an official at the Philadelphia Centennial, proved the standard measure by which quality could be judged. Today these values are particularly valid when applied to a class of artifacts that changed slowly and have as their prime characteristics anonymity of maker and date. With such objects the origin,

[27] *Tools and Supplies*, op. cit. (footnote 22)
[28] *Mechanick Exercise* . . . , p. 62.
[29] Ibid., p. 95.
[30] Walker, op. cit. (footnote 19), pp. 31–49.

transition, and variation of shape are of primary interest. Consider the common auger whose "Office" Moxon declared "is to make great round holes" and whose importance was so clearly stressed at Philadelphia in 1876.[31] Neither its purpose nor its gross appearance (a T-handled boring tool) had changed. The tool did, however, develop qualitatively through 200 years, from a pod or shell to a spiral bit, from a blunt to a gimlet point, and from a hand-fashioned to a geometrically exact, factory-made implement: innovations associated with Cooke (1770), L'Hommedieu (1809), and Jennings (1850's). In each instance the tool was improved—a double spiral facilitated the discharge of shavings, a gimlet point allowed the direct insertion of the auger, and machine precision brought mathematical accuracy to the degree of twist. Still, overall appearance did not change. At the Centennial, Moxon would have recognized an auger, and, further, his lecture on its uses would have been singularly current. The large-bore spiral auger still denoted a mortise, tenon, and trenail mode of building in a wood-based technology; at the same time its near cousin, the wheelwright's reamer, suggested the reliance upon a transport dependent upon wooden hubs. The auger in its perfected form—fine steel, perfectly machined, and highly finished—contrasted with an auger of earlier vintage will clearly show the advance from forge to factory, but will indicate little new in its method of use or its intended purpose.

Persons neither skilled in the use of tools nor interested in technical history will find that there is another response to the common auger, as there was to the upholsterer's hammer, the 18th-century brace, or the saw with the custom-fitted grip. This is a subjective reaction to a pleasing form. It is the same reaction that prompted artists to use tools as vehicles to help convey lessons in perspective, a frequent practice in 19th-century art manuals. The harmony of related parts—the balance of shaft and handle or the geometry of the twist—makes the auger a decorative object. This is not to say that the ancient woodworker's tool is not a document attesting a society's technical proficiency—ingenuity, craftsmanship, and productivity. It is only to suggest again that it is something more; a survival of the past whose intrinsic qualities permit it to stand alone as a bridge between the craftsman's hand and his work; an object of considerable appeal in which integrity of line and form is not dimmed by the skill of the user nor by the quality of the object produced by it.

In America, this integrity of design is derived from three centuries of experience: one of heterogeneous character, the mid-17th to the mid-18th; one of predominately English influence, from 1750 to 1850; and one that saw the perfection of basic tools, by native innovators, between 1850 and the early 20th century. In the two earlier periods, the woodworking tool and the products it finished had a natural affinity owing largely to the harmony of line that both the tool and finished product shared. The later period, however, presents a striking contrast. Hand-tool design, with few exceptions, continued vigorous and functional amidst the confusion of an eclectic architecture, a flurry of rival styles, the horrors of the jigsaw, and the excesses of Victorian taste. In conclusion, it would seem that whether seeking some continuous thread in the evolution of a national style, or whether appraising American contributions to technology, such a search must rest, at least in part, upon the character and quality of the hand tools the society has made and used, because they offer a continuity largely unknown to other classes of material survivals.

[31] *Mechanick Exercises* . . . , p. 94.

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